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ABSTRACT

The junior college today faces the challenge of providing quality post-secondary education for its minority and less affluent members. This document contains 24 articles on junior college programs for the disadvantaged. They have previously been published in the Junior College Journal from 1965 through 1970. (CA)

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Community College

Programs for People Who Need College

Articles on Community College Programs For the Disadvantaged

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Foreword

In testimony to the Congress in February 1970, the chairman of AAJC's Commission on Legislation, President Kermit C. Morrissey of the Community College of Allegheny County (Pennsylvania), told the Special Subcommittee on Education of the House:

> We must not make the mistake of misreading that undercurrent of comment today which says the community college is another establishment conspiracy to again put the minorities in the back of the bus. The less advantaged are pouring in on the community colleges as much for the promise they see in us, the evidence of a changing commitment, the hope of an equality still only dreamed of, as for the immediate reality and advantage offered. The long-ignored and neglected publics are in effect giving the establishment another chance. It's a chance the Nation and the community college simply cannot afford to muff.

The American system as a whole is in fact on trial in the challenge which the community colleges face today in trying to provide quality postsecondary education for their less affluent clienteles. The gaps between the promise and the performance of the two-year college are somewhat symbolic of the gaps that separate the less affluent Americans and the larger system. These gaps must be addressed by many agencies besides the college itself. Solutions will require orchestration of the community's total resources—federal and state, as well as local.

Of course, the college cannot forget that its role is central, and that orchestration of resources cannot be left to someone else's leadership. The community college will never reach the full measure of its institutional promise until it assiduously develops and perfects its ability to first identify the clienteles embodied in the total service community and then provide programs that respond to the clienteles' changing needs *as defined by the clienteles themselves.*

As the colleges perfect themselves in this direction, the various public programs, state and federal, intended for their support almost surely will become increasingly responsive and constructive to their needs. And until they have developed such capability, they are likely to continue to feel chronic frustrations about penetrating and utilizing such resources.

AAJC is striving in many ways to contribute to this leadership process. Among other functions, the Association is increasingly conscious of the need to develop itself in the clearinghouse role, and to become a reference service on the pertinent literature, particularly on successful program models.

The demographic study of college-enrollment trends among young blacks in several key cities, made by AAJC under sponsorship from the Ford Foundation, was a prime step in cultivating this kind of institutional strength in both the colleges and the national organization. That study, titled *People Who Need College* and authored by Dorothy M. Knoell, is now available from AAJC's Publications Office. We see this collection of articles as a useful complement and reference on that work. We express again our gratitude to the Ford Foundation for making these publications possible.

R. Frank Mensel
Director of Governmental Affairs
American Association of Junior Colleges

Programs for Disadvantaged

■ *A Policy Statement of the AAJC*

The following statement of policy was recently adopted by the Association's board of directors. As stated below, it is a guideline for present and future development of AAJC programs, and it deserves careful study by the membership.

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr.

* * *

Challenge: Amid its mounting affluence, the nation is challenged by the growing paradox of poverty—the plight of those citizens whose inheritance makes it difficult, if not impossible, for them to take advantage of the opportunities of which the rest of society avails itself. Among the cures of poverty that are being proposed, education perhaps offers the best hope for bringing the educationally, socially, and economically handicapped into the mainstream of American life. Guaranteed income jobs, opportunities in business, improved health care—all of these can produce only temporary and limited improvement in the lives of the disadvantaged unless there is a solid underpinning of education to give them the skills, knowledge, and attitudes they need to function effectively, as consumers, householders, parents, wage earners, and citizens.

Among established educational institutions, community and junior colleges are especially well qualified to offer opportunities for the disadvantaged—whether they are young school dropouts or unemployed adults. In general, today's community and junior colleges are committed to open-door admissions policies, comprehensive and varied programming, low costs to students, geographic accessibility, and community control. Found in urban centers, in suburban and industrial districts, and in rural settings, and growing rapidly in number, the two-year colleges are now widely accessible to the poor regardless of where they may live.

Commitment: Acutely aware of the need, the American Association of Junior Colleges is now resolved to assume an expanding role toward helping the poor—whether they are white, black, Puerto Rican, or Mexican American—by increasing direction, stimulation, encouragement, and support to member colleges to develop appropriate programs and facilities. The Association seeks to answer the question: How can two-year colleges most effectively provide and expand opportunity for the disadvantaged—in what kinds of instruction, with what kinds of supporting services?

Our intention is to reach well beyond present Association efforts and to stimulate action programs in community and junior colleges across the nation. Each junior and community college will be encouraged to formulate its own specific commitment to reach and to work with the disadvantaged. It is, furthermore, the conviction of the AAJC staff and officers that all types of junior colleges—church-related, independent, and public community colleges—have the potential to help meet the need.

Implementation: To implement its program of service and leadership in education for the disadvantaged, AAJC will continue and expand certain programs already started, initiate new activities, and provide guidelines for individual colleges on new programs of their own. Among current Association programs directly related to the question of education for the disadvantaged are these:

1. Outreach demonstration projects being conducted by four urban colleges and coordinated nationally by AAJC. Communities involved are New York City, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Chicago. The program is being conducted with financial support from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

2. Demographic studies being conducted in several urban areas to determine why students from minority groups may not be taking advantage of educational opportunities available to them. Financial support is being provided by the Ford Foundation.

Questions of inner-city facilities, training and use of subprofessionals in college programs, instructional techniques and materials, community participation in planning service programs, financial aid, and special student services are all subject to investigation in these projects. While the demographic surveys focus on youth, three of the four urban demonstration projects are concerned more with adults than youth, more with community programs than with on-campus instruction in degree programs. However, impact on campus, curriculums, community, and college clientele is expected from all.

A related Association project focuses on developing institutions. Eighty-seven two-year colleges are being assisted by AAJC in self-evaluation and planning aimed at leading to improvement of the colleges. Interest in establishing programs for the disadvantaged students runs high among participating colleges, many of which are located in rural sections of the country (though the program is nationwide). The program is funded by the U.S. Office of Education.

Other Association projects with relevance to the education of the disadvantaged are (1) a social science teaching experiment in several colleges; (2) a program to assist colleges in improving community service functions; (3) a program to assist new institutions in planning and development; (4) a program to promote faculty and staff development; and (5) a facilities information service.

It should be noted, too, that many member colleges of AAJC are engaged in providing new services and opportunities for the disadvantaged. Many are participating in Upward Bound and New Careers Programs, for example. AAJC will, as a part of its new effort in this area, attempt to catalog the various kind of activities being conducted throughout the country.

Under the O.E.O.-financed urban demonstration project, the Association has a responsibility for general program development for the disadvantaged in two-year colleges; for collecting, collating, and disseminating information about such programs; for evaluating special programs funded by O.E.O.; for preparing guidelines for new programs and services and assisting in the development of legislation on such programs.

Prospectus for additional programs: From the experience and comprehension gained in the formative and current projects, AAJC is now exploring a variety of proposals that will deepen and broaden the response of

the two-year colleges to the needs of the disadvantaged. The thrust points toward two fronts. One focuses on the institution itself: making the curriculum specifically and the campus experience generally more relevant and responsive to the disadvantaged students. The second is the community: broadening the colleges' outreach, enlarging their liaisons with the Negro and minority citizens—while also studying the whole communications process between the minorities, the poor, and the so-called "establishment"—moving the colleges deeper into the expansion of employment, business, and ownership opportunities as a complement to educational opportunities for the same citizens. On the institutional front, proposals now under intensive evaluation and development include:

1. Development, replication, and testing of basic curriculum models in as many as ten community and junior colleges, which differ with respect to ethnic mix, population of the communities served, location, program strengths and experiences. Three basic models are contemplated:

a. A university-parallel program with strengthened orientation program, tutoring, and student services, and with careful attention to problems of program retention and completion by the participants.

b. A student-centered developmental program (probably one year in length) with team teaching by student personnel and academic staff, designed to assist the student in personal and social adjustment and to help him achieve some concept of his role in society.

c. A social science-oriented program based in part on principles underlying the New Careers approach to occupational education, with multiple exit points to employment or further formal education, and with multiple career options in the area of human services.

2. Basic research on the improvement of various educational services to the disadvantaged, as fostered in the O.E.O.-supported projects.

3. Expanded research on the effect of campus site selection—temporary facilities, first permanent site, subsequent campuses, neighborhood centers—including questions related to relocation, student mix in relation to curriculum control in a multicampus operation, the dispersal in the community of elements of the total curriculum, and the use of community facilities for field or laboratory experience.

4. Conferences on basic remedial-bridge programs in community and junior colleges, including a session on new grading practices, pacing of instruction, materials development, evaluation techniques (student and program), and subprofessional staffing.

5. Pilot work in staff development to prepare college personnel to carry out research and development projects in their programs for the disadvantaged.

On the community front, AAJC recognizes that the comprehensive response to the disadvantaged extends well beyond the classroom and the campus. There are critical communication, economic, and cultural gaps compounding the educational gap. The two-year college can and should be an instrument in the remedy of all of these gaps.

The systematic imbalance, the yoke upon the disadvantaged, is in fact pervasive. The disparity is sharply illustrated in the ownership standard, so integral to the American system: e.g., in business ownership the white dominance has been estimated as high as 99 per cent in dollar terms, while the nonwhite citizens who comprise 15 per cent of the national population, hold only about 1 per cent of the ownership.

Aware that the educational gap cannot be closed in isolation of the other needs, AAJC is also at work on several additional proposals that stress outreach:

1. Research and experimentation on both sides of the communications gap: probing attitudes and motivations among the disadvantaged, stimulating greater dialog between the college and the disadvantaged, and, at the same time, multiplying the channels of dialog.

2. Development of greater overall liaison and involvement between the college and other institutions of the community—business, the arts, government—who can help expand opportunities for the disadvantaged, keyed among other things to:

a. Participation by the colleges in the mushrooming business-government partnership aimed at increasing ownership and management opportunity in business (e.g., black capitalism).

b. Cultural enrichment making concerts, lectures, drama, other arts, and recreation more accessible to the disadvantaged.

c. Training and information increasing consumer interest and buying power among the disadvantaged.

Summary: The Association recognizes that poverty and prejudice are barriers to opportunity for millions of Americans and thus impediments that restrict and threaten national progress. AAJC also believes that education, and particularly two-year colleges, must help lead the assault on these barriers—an assault which now is only in its formative stages. This assault must close not only the gap in educational opportunities, but cultural and economic gaps as well, and the two-year colleges can and should play a leading role in overcoming all of these gaps.

The Association is embarked on efforts to obtain the necessary financial support and cooperative arrangements to carry out these projects. There is every reason to expect that appropriate funding will be found. Other program avenues will be explored in the weeks and months ahead.

This statement and the report on present and future plans of the Association for meeting needs of disadvantaged Americans is issued as a guideline for staff and member institutions of AAJC. It expresses policy adopted by the Board of Directors of the American Association of Junior Colleges. It is intended to clearly demonstrate and recognize that the country's junior and community colleges have a mandate to take leadership in meeting the problems of the poor, of minorities, of all Americans who need greater economic, educational, and cultural opportunities. This need forms a massive impediment to national progress. It is a challenge to every institution, and the two-year college, as a fountain of resources, has the obligation to make a central contribution to the solution.

Outreach to the Disadvantaged

By Dorothy M. Knoell

"Black" and "disadvantaged" are used synonymously by many predominantly white colleges which are now making serious efforts to increase their nonwhite enrollments. In the community colleges, however, "disadvantaged" has long meant "having low demonstrated ability to succeed in college," based on scores earned on one of the national college testing programs. Being free (or low cost), the community colleges have not sought to link poverty with disadvantagement in planning special programs and services. Having been instructed by the government to be color-blind in the treatment of their students, at least until recently, the colleges have ignored cultural differences related to the varied ethnic backgrounds of what are now regarded as the disadvantaged. It may now be assumed that color, poverty, and learning disabilities growing out of poor prior educational experience may all be serious impediments to profiting from higher education, if they do not in fact stand in the way of the individual's applying for admission to college.

The term "disadvantaged" is used by most but liked by none who are attempting to expand educational opportunity. It is preferable to the notion of "culturally deprived" since the groups to whom the term is applied assert (rightfully) that their culture is merely different from that of the white middle class. "Educationally handicapped" may imply a degree of pathological impairment which is unwarranted. Thus, the term "disadvantaged" will serve until or unless a more acceptable term is found.

The focus of attention recently has been on the black graduate of the urban high school who, when questioned about his possible interest in college, appears to aspire to the professions while reading at the ninth-grade level. In reality, disadvantagement is everywhere, in everyone in one sense or another. It tends to be most prevalent and most serious in the cities but it is to be found in rural areas and even the seemingly affluent suburbs; among Chicanos and Indians and poor whites, as well as the blacks; and in the backgrounds of some with demonstrated academic potential, as well as among those without it. Some say that the suburban WASP's are the truly disadvantaged, because of the narrowness of their experiences. Certainly it is assumed that the bringing together of WASP youth and their opposites for common educational experience should enrich both. Very few individuals, whatever their ethnic background or social class, achieve their full intellectual potential in life, if it can indeed be measured.

For purposes of discussion and planning, the point of view is taken that every young person possesses some "college potential" which can be realized at least in part in a wide spectrum of programs in two- and four-year colleges, public and private, large and small. In working with the disadvantaged, however, it will be assumed that the job to be done right now is less one of finding "the right" college for each disadvantaged youth than of equipping each college to serve the disadvantaged in accordance with its avowed intent. The motto of the State University of New York, "Let each become all he is capable of being," might well be adopted by each college in service to the disadvantaged. Few colleges are now doing all that they might to make opportunity available, making good use of the wealth of research on teaching and learning, or giving needed support to the student services which are so necessary to insure instructional success.

Disadvantagement may then be defined for purposes of planning programs and services as color or ethnic background, poverty, and learning disability. Any two of the three conditions are justification for special attention by the colleges. Young people who are black and poor and doomed to failure in college (if the traditional predictors are valid) are indeed an object of particular concern on the part of the colleges. Black youth should not enjoy a monopoly of attention for there are multitudes of Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indians, and others who are deserving of attention. Students in work-study programs are needy, but youth from families below the federally established poverty levels are scarcely being reached at all at present. Remedial courses and programs for the not-quite-ready student should not be abandoned, but entirely new approaches are needed for young people scoring in the lowest decile of traditional college potential.

The Multiple Clienteles of Disadvantaged

In government, in the community, and on the local campus there is lively discussion concerning which (or how many) of the several possible clienteles among the disadvantaged the particular college should try to serve. The definition of disadvantagement in terms of color, poverty, and educational handicap does not in itself identify a clientele.

In setting goals and establishing priorities, account must be taken of the disadvantagement which is found in persons of all ages who might be helped by the college. Some have been in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, the Armed Services; others are among the unemployed receiving public assistance, sharing their poverty with large families which are poorly educated.

The inclination of the college is of course to plan for the new high school graduate who is multiply disadvantaged or, preferably, to assist him while in high school so as to reduce his educational handicap. Modest federal funding has been made available for these purposes. More massive (albeit inadequate) federal funding has been allocated for disadvantaged adults of various ages and conditions for adult basic education, job training for both New Careers and more traditional employment, parent education, and community services. A very current federal interest is in about-to-be-released servicemen from disadvantaged backgrounds whose transition to civilian education and employment may be hazardous.

At the other end of the age range of the disadvantaged in whom the federal government is making an investment are the Job Corps trainees, the Neighborhood Youth Corps workers, the VISTA volunteers, and the Head Start children. The colleges have been somewhat uneasy about serving the disadvantaged high school dropout, at least while he is still a minor. They voice the fear that they will encourage a greater number of students to drop out of high school by doing so, while hoping that the public schools will improve almost instantly so as to eliminate the dropout problem. Other groups whom the federal government is concerned about, from an education-employment point of view, are the migrant workers, mothers in the Aid to Dependent Children program, employees in local community action agencies, and the poor of Appalachia and similar locales.

No one asserts that a college should try to "be all things to all people," least of all the disadvantaged. Still, one may legitimately ask what role the colleges, collectively, should play in helping to alleviate the problem of educational disadvantagement among people of all ages. Colleges can work in many ways to help the disadvantaged, in addition to providing direct educational services to disadvantaged youth of college age. They may be agents of social change in the communities in which they are located, offering their personnel and physical resources to meet local poverty needs, and to effect changes in the quality of life in the community. This is not the college which is walled off from the community, which regards all nonstudents as unwelcome trespassers. Such attitudes were prevalent even before the recent disturbances on the campuses by students and others. Low minority group enrollments and their attitude of suspicion about the higher education establishment are at least in part a reflection of the long-standing isolation of the campus from many segments of the community.

A college may also serve the disadvantaged by making its programs more relevant, more significant in relation to societal problems. Desirable changes in the students' social beliefs and behaviors need to be made explicit. Training (if needed) and then credit or pay (or both) may be given for community services performed by the students off campus. Students may serve as tutors for children at various grade levels, recreation leaders, consumer education aides, and in many other capacities which might be supportive of improving conditions among the poor.

Basically, however, the colleges need to consider the many clienteles which it might serve in its regular programs and services, once efforts are made to bring them into the mainstream of higher education. Universal opportunity for at least two years of education beyond the high school is an established national goal of some years standing. The role of each college in helping to achieve the goal should be discussed fully on each campus, in each region, and as part of a national plan.

Major Areas of Programing

Any comprehensive plan to serve disadvantaged students at the baccalaureate level should include both pre-enrollment programs and intensive supporting services after admission to the college. In fact, colleges should probably forego attempts to serve disadvantaged youth of college age unless they are prepared to back up their offer of admission with a full complement of services. Pre-enrollment programs may involve both direct instruction, e.g., through Upward Bound programs and tutoring in neighborhood centers, and personnel services, e.g., recruitment, testing, and placement in part-time jobs. Once in college, the disadvantaged student continues to need tutoring and financial aid but, in addition, will probably need certain rather intensive supporting services in counseling, out-of-class activities, skill development (including study habits), and perhaps, housing in the community.

Residential colleges may tend to reject the proposal of pre-enrollment programs in their local communities on the grounds that they draw their students from a vast service area and serve very few local high school graduates. By the same token, commuter colleges in urban areas may object to offering such programs on the grounds that the best partici-

pants would then be offered admission by the more prestigious residential colleges. The common denominator seems to be mutual assistance to each other's potential students while they are still in high school and before they make any final decision about college. Both the assisting colleges and the students —present and future—should benefit from such exchanges. The recipients of the precollege services will be afforded an opportunity to try to qualify for admission to a variety of colleges, rather than a single institution on a kind of pass-fail basis. The college offering such services to local high school students will be enriched by the contacts with its community, particularly if its students and staff are involved actively in the program.

Examples can be cited of both federally funded and locally sponsored programs now in operation. Programs to extend educational opportunity to the severely disadvantaged are costly and may bring unwanted outcomes, as experience during the past year has indicated. Provision of some measure of expanded opportunity may produce a militant demand for more and still better opportunity. The offering of inadequate opportunity to qualify for the best in collegiate opportunity is to bring about disaster to the college which attempts it. Inadequacy may take many forms, but the best insurance against it is a comprehensive program of instructional and personnel services both before college admission and afterwards.

Precollege Programs

Recruitment to college starts at an early age in upper-middle class families, by parents who aspire for their children to attend "good" institutions, to obtain a "better" education than they themselves had. Parents of the so-called disadvantaged children tend not to value education as a vehicle for mobility, at least not beyond a high school education. Poor performance of their children in the public schools does much to confirm their feeling that higher education is "not their bag." Therefore, if the disadvantaged are to be served by the colleges in increasing numbers, action must be taken early to recruit them into higher education. This will mean creating interest, motivation, resources, and finally, some increased capability to do successful college work as a result of becoming oriented toward college while still in the public schools.

Specific examples: Families of children in Head Start programs are the intended beneficiaries of a special federally funded program being offered by the State University of New York Urban Center in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, with the cooperation of the New York City Community College. Educational and recreational programs are offered by the college center (very often in the facilities) for families as units. Parents are counseled and placed in educational programs appropriate to their adult interests and capabilities, from basic literacy programs to college-level, degree-credit courses. The expectation is that change will occur in the general family attitude toward the value of formal education and that better school performance on the part of the children will then occur. Both attitudinal changes and increases in the effectiveness of parents as "teachers" are expected to have impact on the learning of the children in Head Start programs and subsequently, in the public schools. The offering of the program by a collegiate institution, located in the community where the families live, is believed to have greater potential impact on the disadvantaged community and on the individuals, both young people and adults, than would occur if the same program was offered by some other agency. Frustrations are many and results are slow to show. Still, an increased awareness of the college's presence in the community and of its accessibility to the disadvantaged has already occurred.

The Office of Education "Educational Talent Search" program is designed to assist colleges and other educational agencies to identify and counsel young people about education opportunity at all levels, i.e., in high school for actual or would-be dropouts and in college for those who might profit from such opportunity. Colleges receiving grants under this program may not recruit only for their own institutions but instead, must offer services to a broad spectrum of young people who may be counseled into an equally broad range of educational programs. The talent search has not been limited to the urban disadvantaged, although some of the best programs have been designed for this group. Awards have been made to search out talent among rural youth, American Indians, Chicanos, and the disadvantaged in the Southern states, as well as the more publicized disadvantaged.

Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland has been the grantee for a counseling and referral center in the Hough area, under the Talent Search program. A total of 780 counselees were served by SEARCH in Cleveland during the center's first year of operation, a majority of whom entered some type of educational program. In addition to counseling, the center assisted its clients in obtaining financial aid in order to continue their education and in maintaining a follow-up service to provide further assistance, as needed. The project includes an aggressive outreach program into the community to recruit dropouts and

others back into formal education. An attractive newsletter is published monthly with a circulation of 3,000 copies which features useful occupational information for the Center's clients. The future of the SEARCH program without federal funding is rather dismal for the people who are assisted and cannot afford to pay for the services rendered. Still, good experience has been accrued in the 75 projects across the country which were funded last year, and which colleges can apply to their own operations to make them more effective.

Other recruitment techniques used by the colleges to reach the disadvantaged involve the extension of the college staff to include other types of personnel, some of them paraprofessionals. One urban college has experimented successfully with putting certain high school counselors on its payroll, for service after regular school hours and on Saturdays in the high schools where they are regularly employed. Their mission is to recruit students for the community college—new types of students who would not go on with their education without some special encouragement from the school. Admission and often registration procedures are accomplished on the spot with the help of the high school counselor. Tuition waivers are available to the poor, and other financial aid may be secured by those who desire it.

College students have also proven to be effective recruiters, particularly those who reside in disadvantaged communities. One large urban college has devised a special work-study program for disadvantaged students who have been successful at the college, in which they are trained and then employed as counselor assistants to recruit more disadvantaged young people to the college and to work with them during the difficult early weeks on campus. In Baltimore, "New Careers" students have been employed by the community college to search out potential students in poor neighborhoods, armed with a kit of materials about opportunities at the college (and personal, successful experiences on the campus, themselves).

The long-term goal in many of the community-board recruitment programs is to raise the general level of educational aspirations on the part of the disadvantaged while recruiting certain individuals to the campus as full-time students. High school counselors in large urban schools have not been effective recruiters for the community colleges, except when special inducements have been offered. It is perhaps not surprising that their efforts are devoted to securing admission to and scholarships for the more prestigious colleges which are now competing for talented black students. The community must then overcome their own inertia in recruitment while finding more effective ways to increase interest in the impoverished segment of the community.

There are still other techniques which appear to be effective in arousing the interest of disadvantaged young people whom the colleges have failed to reach in the past, and yet, which cost relatively little to use. (The potential cost comes, of course, with a marked increase in enrollment of students requiring substantial financial aid, many of whom will also need special programs and supporting services.) One urban college president has proposed sending congratulatory letters to all new high school graduates, awarding them outright admission to the college and an offer of assistance to make enrollment possible. Still another, with flexible open-door policy, has proposed sending such a letter to all junior high school graduates, contingent of course upon their completing a high school program. The automatic early admission of such young people might open the way for better occupational counseling before actual college admission and for greater interest in high school courses leading to a college-level occupational curriculum. The Forest Park campus of the Junior College District of St. Louis has been bold enough to bus junior high school students to their campus for a Saturday visit, at which time T-shirts (and other inexpensive items) with the college seal were given to the children.

The federally funded Upward Bound precollege program is known to all who work with disadvantaged college students. A number of variations have developed with other fundings which are worthy of attention. The City University of New York has sponsored a universitywide College Discovery Program for its community colleges and a SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge) program for recruitment to its senior colleges. The latter has subsequently been expanded into New York state beyond the city, through the central administration of the State University of New York. The programs represent a major attempt to increase minority group enrollments in the city and state university colleges, by recruiting and then assisting the disadvantaged in qualifying for degree programs in these institutions. One of the several prongs of the College Discovery Program involves the identification of poverty youngsters with low achievement but presumed aptitude of the ninth-grade level, and their enrollment in a three-year remedial program prior to high school graduation. Successful completers are guaranteed admission to some college in the City University, depending upon how well they have done. Supporting student services are also available to the group.

Many community colleges are encouraging their students to tutor high school and in some cases, elementary school students in poverty neighborhoods. Much is done on a volunteer basis, e.g., through the EPIC program in the Los Angeles area. Elsewhere, needy college students are being paid in a kind of off-campus work-study program. Disadvantaged students in the College Readiness Program at San Mateo College, who are themselves the beneficiaries of special services, are paid to tutor students below college age who are still in the public schools, using the skills they are learning while being tutored by academically successful classmates. In the Peralta Junior College District in Oakland, some students in the OEO-funded Student Service Corps have been paid to tutor children out in the community, often in the neighborhoods where they themselves live.

Too often, disadvantaged students are denied some of the supporting services they need until they are actually enrolled in the college. Selection of the appropriate college and courses of study, making application for financial aid, aptitude and placement testing, personal counseling about family problems, and making arrangements for medical exams (and possible remediation) are all pre-enrollment activities which potential students with disadvantaged backgrounds find it difficult to undertake. The families of more affluent youth have both experience and know-how in gathering information about college opportunities, getting help needed to make decisions, meeting deadlines, filling out forms, and most important of all, complaining when red tape and bureaucracy interfere with educational opportunity.[1] The Project Search Center operated by Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland provides some such precollege services to potential students before admission to any institution. Assistance is given to clients in seeking financial aid under established programs; aid from Search funding has been given in some cases where other aid was not available.

Project FOCUS (Fellowship of Concerned University Students) was organized by university students to assist Upward Bound participants in locating a suitable college placement, obtaining needed financial aid, finding housing, and making other preregistration arrangements to attend college in a usually distant state. The program has operated with the cooperation of several Upward Bound projects, usually in southern institutions, and they experienced considerable success in placing students in public community colleges, notably in California. Service to the students does not stop when they are enrolled, but the major thrust of the program is in placing students in suitable colleges where financial aid is assured from some combination of institutional funds and local contributions from the community. FOCUS is a kind of piggyback project, building on the Upward Bound program and, by the addition of services which at first were for the most part volunteer, making college admission a reality for many disadvantaged youth who might not otherwise have made it from Upward Bound to college.

With the assistance of the federal Talent Search program, a number of community and regional groups have organized to deliver necessary services to disadvantaged youth who might, with an extra assist, be able to attend college. The California Council for Educational Opportunity, Aspira in New York City, the United Scholarship Service in Denver, and the All-Indian Pueblo Council are all examples of recipients of Talent Search funds to provide services to the disadvantaged who are potential college students. Educational programs are needed at the precollege level—tutoring, enrichment, occupational orientation—under the auspices of the local colleges and with the assistance of both staff and students. However, the educational programs will be effective only to the extent that supporting services are given at critical times along the route to college. Remediation will be futile unless application forms for admission to the "right" college are submitted, financial need is established, required examinations are taken, and the like. Despite the many apparent talent searches by the college, the procedures for admission which they often establish tend to discourage the disadvantaged from applying, if not in fact make it impossible for them to do so.

Special In-College Programs

Until recently, most community college programs for the disadvantaged have been remedial in nature and open to all new students with low scholastic aptitude test scores (if, in fact, enrollment in remedial courses is not compulsory for such students). The colleges have long prided themselves on their performance of the salvage function for high school graduates and others who are not ready to undertake the degree programs for which they have come to college. Some new students show need for remedial English, many (or most) for special help in reading improvements, and a large number for precollege-level mathematics. The latter group includes some who simply did not attempt the high school mathematics courses they later found they

[1] "Are Our Colleges Really Accessible to the Poor?" *Junior College Journal*, October, 1968 (30:2), pp. 9-11.

needed in order to pursue a certain major in college. Others took the necessary courses but did not do well enough in them to be able to go on with college-level math with any reasonable probability of success, or to pass some all-college requirement based on a minimum test score.

Colleges which are truly open door, in practice as well as philosophy, are finding that an increasing percentage of their new students need remediation in all of the basic skills and, in addition, need special help to develop adequate study habits and special counseling to make decisions about their educational and occupational futures. As a result, many colleges have moved toward a kind of remedial curriculum for seriously deficient students which may constitute their entire program for the first year. The normal amount of time spent in the classroom is augmented by special laboratory sessions, tutoring, and the use of programmed materials for homework assignments.

There is considerable variation among the colleges with respect to certain important features of the program, among them the degree of structuring (or flexibility), criteria for assignment to and release from the program, grading practices, the awarding of degree or other type of credit, and staffing for the program. The extremes which may be found are the colleges which offer little more than an uncorrelated assortment of noncredit remedial courses to students who have made low scores on one or more aptitude tests, and those which have developed student-centered programs of skill building and guidance, to provide for the needs of the very heterogeneous group of students in need of remediation. Traditionally the programs have been designed for (and effective with) middle class youth who fall only somewhat short of the standards set for students in college-level courses. The typical student was a young, white, male high school graduate who underachieved in his midadolescent years. Most colleges admit to remedial programs some men and women who pursued terminal occupational programs in high school and thus, lack the requisite academic and study skills for college. Finally, in each freshman class there is a certain unknown percentage of students who do not have the capability for traditional college programs—liberal arts or technical—no matter how much remediation they are given.

Instruments and techniques which are presently available to identify young people with undeveloped potential for college are grossly inadequate. Thus programs are needed which will give each educationally disadvantaged student an opportunity to develop whatever and however much college potential he possesses—not in competition with other students from more or less advantaged backgrounds, but in accordance with his own developmental characteristics. Probably all two-year colleges offer remedial-type courses in English composition and mathematics to the multitude of students who made low scores on the SCAT, SAT, and ACT instruments. A growing number offer what are called developmental, guided studies, or general studies programs for the seriously deficient students. Most will have been in the lowest one-third of their graduating classes; some will be blacks or Chicanos. There has been little or no adaptation of the content of the programs to the special needs of minority group students, even when they outnumber the white students in the developmental program. A number of the programs have employed black staff members as instructors and counselors, however, and tutors—particularly the volunteers—working with black students are for the most part black.

Examples need not be given of the traditional remedial courses and programs for they are commonplace. However, several developmental-type programs are worthy of note. The Forest Park campus of the Junior College District of St. Louis has developed one such program, with funds from the Danforth Foundation. It is in a sense a total curriculum for one academic year for marginal students who are variously disadvantaged. Subsequent placement in a degree program offered by the college is regarded as only one of several possible outcomes for what is expected to be fewer than half of the students. The two other major objectives are placement in a job training program offered under non-college auspices, and placement in a full-time job offering opportunity for advancement and related to the student's interests and aptitudes. The curriculum includes basic skills, using programmed instruction; general education for personal enrichment; and intensive group and individual guidance aimed at self-knowledge and evaluation. Tuition scholarships are awarded to certain needy students without respect to their academic prospects. The program is still relatively new and more expensive than the regular degree-credit programs. However, if the three-fold statement of objectives is accepted as valid, the rate of student success is high.

Los Angeles City College also offers a special semester-long developmental studies program for students who score below the tenth percentile (national norms) on a college aptitude test. It is regarded as a block program of courses in reading, speech, and psychology, in addition to which students may elect one degree-credit course from a restricted list. Tutoring—individual and group—is

available to students in connection with the reading course to help students learn to abstract information from their reading. Some tutors are paid; others are volunteers. The program appears to be offered as a means of assisting the disadvantaged to improve their probability of success in regular degree programs, rather than to screen out those whose potential for success does not improve markedly. Enrollment in the program is voluntary and advancement to degree-credit programs is open to nonfailing students.

The State University of New York Urban Centers in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, operated by Manhattan and New York City Community Colleges, offer what they call college adapter programs as part of their overall offerings for disadvantaged youth who are inadmissible to associate degree programs. Remediation in the basic skills is emphasized, accompanied by intensive counseling to help the student understand himself. Urban Center students are permitted to participate in some courses and activities on the main campus, both to help them feel a part of the college and to ease their transition to the campus, if and when they are accepted into an associate degree program.

New Curriculum Development

Two significant directions for curriculum development may be noted that are of special interest to the disadvantaged and which may pioneer some very basic changes in the concepts of what is transfer versus occupational. The New Careers program in the human services provides one direction; the Afro-American and other ethnic studies program is the second. Both provide new access to higher education for minority groups who are now underrepresented in the college population and who tend to be disinterested in strictly vocational training. The entry point may be at the level of adult basic education, subfreshman skill courses, or full-credit programs. There is no one termination point which all students are expected to reach. Instead, some will complete a baccalaureate degree (or more), others will stop with an associate degree, and a sizeable group will drop out after only one year in the program. The open-endedness of the new programs—both at entrance and exit—is one of their most attractive features, together with the relevance of the content and learning experiences to the disadvantaged.

The so-called New Careers Program is a federally funded program of education, skill training, and work experience in the human services for employed adults over twenty-one years of age. A large number of urban community colleges have entered into contract with local agencies to supply some or all of the educational component of the program—basic adult education, counseling, job-related courses, and general education. As a result of early successes with New Careers students, the colleges have become less cautious about moving these students into regular college courses for degree credit. Completion of an associate degree may take as long as three years since a considerable portion of the student's time is spent in on-the-job training and in basic education at the start of his program. Still, persistence and time needed to complete degree requirements compare quite favorably with the record made by other community college students. New Careers training is offered in a variety of human services—social welfare, education, recreation, early childhood programs, police service and corrections, and, of course, the vast field of health. Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland has moved from the training of New Careerists as casework aides and home health aides to programs for a variety of municipal employees as plumbing inspector aide, water serviceman aide, interviewer aide, police and safety aide, and others. The major elements of the program are counseling, basic education (in which a trainee may earn up to 36 hours of degree credit, depending on his skill and when he enters the program), technical education in the speciality area, and on-the-job training. Other colleges which appear to have exemplary programs of New Careers training are Merritt College in Oakland, Miami-Dade Junior College, and the community colleges in New York City.

Related to the development of New Careers programs is a curriculum project in the human services which was recently funded through the Council on Social Work Education to develop guidelines for associate degree programs for the social services. Briefly, the major objectives of the guidelines are to increase opportunities for disadvantaged students, to alleviate the shortage of personnel in the social services, and encourage the development of sound programs in two-year colleges which may lead to either employment in the social services or a baccalaureate degree program in a senior institution. Fieldwork for credit is to be recommended as part of the associate degree program. If provision can be made to pay students for their field work, the program will become more accessible to the disadvantaged. In any case, it is expected that the open-endedness of the curriculum, its mix of general education and field experience, and its emphasis on the human services will all be attractive features

to the disadvantaged, and to other community college students who tend to reject technical education.

The second significant development in the community college curriculum field is the addition of ethnic studies programs. These are not new, of course, to the four-year institutions. However, two characteristics of the community college programs may distinguish them from those of the universities, if present trends continue. First, the ethnic studies program might serve as a substitute for present developmental programs for some disadvantaged students who can develop their verbal skills very rapidly when motivated to do so by the content they are dealing with. Black students are frequently "turned off" by materials used in remedial college programs, as they were by their high school courses. Given an opportunity to enroll in courses they view as relevant, they are able to progress more rapidly and to earn degree credit while doing so. The second distinguishing characteristic is the opportunity for employment which such programs may offer. There is a vast shortage of teaching personnel for special ethnic studies programs in both the public schools and colleges. It appears possible that graduates of associate degree programs can be employed in the public schools as certified teaching assistants to extend the limited resources of the present staff in community college programs, perhaps while continuing their education in a baccalaureate institution. Merritt College in Oakland has had probably the greatest amount of experience with an ethnic studies program in, as one might expect, Afro-American Studies. Los Angeles City College has recently developed a similar program, and other community colleges are rapidly adding courses in order to be able to award an associate degree in the field.

Relatively little outside funding has been available to the colleges to provide needed supporting services to disadvantaged students in regular degree programs to enhance their chances for success. An exception is San Mateo College in California which instituted a very intensive program of tutoring and other supportive services for its disadvantaged students who enrolled directly in university-parallel programs. The group was small, the cost was high, and the academic success of the group was satisfactory. (Blacklash came from the college's inability to expand the program to meet student demands). Los Angeles City College is also experimenting with the use of student counselor assistants to provide supportive services to new disadvantaged students, to supplement the tutoring which has been a part of the program for some time. Minority group students who have been successful at the college are trained and paid to assist the new students who appear to have a low probability of success as a kind of extension of the professional counseling service.

The new federal program of Special Services to the Disadvantaged should assist the community colleges materially in improving the chances for success of the disadvantaged who enroll. Recruitment is no longer a problem; comprehensiveness of program is well assured, although improvement is needed in the remedial or developmental curriculums. The colleges fall short in providing the supporting services which are needed, if the disadvantaged are to stay in college and succeed.

Problems and Issues

Readiness of the colleges: Community colleges have been growing at an exceedingly rapid rate over the past decade—numbers of colleges, size of enrollments, and staffing of all kinds. As they have grown, they have attracted and absorbed minority group students in a color-blind approach which was dictated by practice until recently. The colleges are not entirely ready to accommodate large numbers of militant minority group students, either psychologically or financially. A climate of acceptance is still in the process of being created on the campuses; in which the new students, the traditional middle class students, and the faculty and staff can work effectively to resolve the conflicts which are sure to arise. The problem is in a way one of the chicken and the egg: to try to get the college ready for an influx of new minority group students or to bring them on campus now to assist in the sensitizing process?

Money: External funds are needed for aid to students, for increased student services, and for new programs. Direct aid to the students is perhaps the most critical problem for the truly poor are unable to attend even a free or low-cost college. The disadvantaged tend to reject the notion of loans and are in turn rejected by the leaders, even of guaranteed loans. Additional funds are needed for work-study programs, educational opportunity grants, and, in some cases, direct payments to students whose families are on welfare. Work-study funds can be used in part to provide improved services—tutoring, counselor assisting, and recruitment in the community. Education in the two-year college has been sold as "cheap" to the student and the taxpayer alike. Current per-student costs are too low if the disadvantaged are to be served adequately.

Remediation: Too many colleges have organized programs on the assumption that if some remedial courses were beneficial for marginal students, then a triple dosage of remedial courses would be good for the seriously deficient students. The dosage has tended to kill the disadvantaged student who is impatient to gain access to what he regards as the "real thing" in college. Better, quicker means must be found to bring the disadvantaged into the mainstream of higher education, if the colleges are to continue to attract them. Vocational skill training is not the answer for most black youth, apparently. Instead, they are insistent that they be helped to acquire the academic skills they need in order to succeed in degree programs.

Student personnel staffing: White middle class student personnel workers, however well trained, tend not to be accepted by lower class nonwhite students. The rejection is based in part on the feeling by black students that communication is impossible because the white person cannot know how it feels to be black. College recruiters, admission officers, and counselors in particular find that they are comparatively ineffective in working with the disadvantaged. Middle class black staff members who have not themselves experienced the hardships of urban poverty are scarcely more effective than their white colleagues. One approach to the staffing problem is stepped-up recruitment of the disadvantaged into college student personnel work, including increased assistance in obtaining the necessary training. At the same time, the use of paraprofessionals in student personnel work needs to be explored seriously by the community colleges.

Local priorities and goals: Few colleges feel that they have fully adequate resources for the traditional liberal arts and technical education programs which have long been their forte. Pressures are strong to add occupational curriculums, to reduce teaching loads, and to improve services to the nearly prepared students. Most colleges are hesitant (if not actually unwilling) to reorder their priorities, to reallocate their resources so as to do the job well. Federal funding for special programs and services has not been forthcoming to date. Even student financial aid from the federal government has been too stingy to make it possible to accommodate the truly poor whose academic potential at entrance is uncertain. The problem then is how far the locally controlled college can go—should, perhaps, go—in giving the needs of the seriously disadvantaged a higher priority than those of its middle class clientele.

THE BLACK STUD

The Community College of Baltimore Reacts To the Urban Community College Conference:

By Charles Tildon: Member of the Board

The locus of the current debate between black and white society in America can be expressed best by answering naive questions such as these: Have not they progressed enough? Are not new jobs open in the hundreds—often with preference to blacks? Are not new opportunities for cultural, social, and economic advantages increasingly being open? Is it not clear that America desires an integrated society and wants to do the right thing? Why must black militant youth resort to violence on the eve of attainment?

Indeed, even great Negro leaders like Whitney Young and Bayard Rustin have addressed some of

(Continued on facing page)

By Harry Bard: President

Mr. Charles Tildon's views are highly important as being representative of the young intelligent Negro who has found a place for himself in the mainstream of American life yet rightfully cries out for deeper reforms for his black brothers. The very dichotomy within him indicates that with all his questioning as to whether it is already too late to plead for an integrated society, his thirteen points rest almost entirely on the basis of building on the present structure rather than destroying the Establishment. His is the voice of the new community college board member—black and white—seeking

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By Robert Wilson, Jr.: President of the Student Government Association

As a black college student, I see the growing need for a dual exposure role played by both the black and white students on America's campuses to lead the way for the enhancement of the colleges as important institutions in our society and to improve the relationship between races.

For so long the problem has been the lack of communication between the black and white students due mainly to obvious segregation and subconscious separation within the walls of the colleges, creating an invisible wall of noninvolvement.

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ENT: THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Cosponsored by the National Institute of Public Affairs and the Association, January 1969

these questions to fellow black citizens. The debate on the questions just noted is often one tied in with the generation and economic class gaps as much as with the racial gap. For example, many of the middle class and middle-age Negroes view success in terms of the Establishment, e.g., going to college, entering a profession, and owning stocks and bonds. However, the younger black militant says that he does not seek to prepare for the middle-class Establishment. He totally rejects its emphasis on wealth and affluence attainment which he calls *white nationalism*; he embraces a new set of values which he terms *black nationalism*. His hero-symbol is the black leader who provides within his philosophy a place of pride for those black citizens who must answer *no* to the first four questions noted. In answer to the final question, his leader might well provide him with the evidence that all that has been accomplished in America—which we identify as good—has come about because of violent action.

In a sense, the total rejection of the Establishment is based on the fact that the promises to the blacks have produced tangible results only for the top 10 per cent of American Negroes. For the other 90 per cent of blacks, the ghetto still remains a closed society, dark and dreary with little hope to advance. The Negro is still twice as likely to be poor—under any standards—and more than twice as likely to be poorly clothed, housed, and educated as well as poorly provided with health care. The escape from the ghetto is never more than a trickle.*

Is it any wonder, then, that the Black Muslim and the Black Nationalist movements seek answers in another world? What matters if the history of Arab nations is often replete with brutality toward blacks and if Africa itself is so very foreign to American Negroes. The *Third World* is a symbol for anti-Americanism, and if you can't get into the present mainstream, you must look elsewhere for some hope for the future. Thus *nihilism* is not a cult for the black, it is a way of survival. In the period of slavery, the Negro spiritual held out hope for a better world than this one of rejection and despair. In this period of contradiction, there is verbalization of support for the Black Cause by the Moynihan Report and the Coleman Commission pronouncement, but action still is represented by only a trickle. The creation of a new structure—*Third World* and *Black State*—makes sense to many who are caught in the trap that permits only a trickle.

The thirteen-point "Credo for the Black Poor" would encompass the following points and apply not only to the higher educational field but to the American society as a whole. (These thirteen points were spontaneous comments made at the conference.) Our total educational system must furnish us with:

1. Education that provides a *real* opportunity for complete participation acceptance and fulfillment commensurate with the great American character
2. Education that provides the basis for income that is commensurate with the needs of our capitalistic society
3. Education that provides the individual with a sense of pride in himself and his heritage; education that does not deprive him of the knowledge that his heritage is deeply rooted in a very positive way in the history of America and the world
4. Education that provides some compensatory treatment in our attempt to bridge the gap
5. Education that defines excellence in terms of today's structure
6. Education that stimulates a feeling for the value of excellence
7. Education that provides a firm basis for the development of a family
8. Education that provides the understanding of the value of the family in today's society and provides the skills and attitudes to make family living fruitful
9. Education that provides the basis for an elimination of the feelings of inferiority that exists
10. Education that provides an understanding of the real value of money and its use in a capitalistic society

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* Perhaps the most significant tie-in or trickle has been with the American community college. Overnight, more than 50,000 black students are in community colleges where the door has been more open than any except for the former Negro institutions of the South. The lack of traditions in the comparatively new two-year college and the growth of new occupational curriculums as well as the open-door policy encourages inner-city enrollment. But even here, the numbers who succeed are not large enough. In fact, the new hope accompanied by failure makes for even more serious problems for the future.

(Tilden: Continued from page 12)

11. Education that provides training and development in skills that will end in gainful employment

12. Education that provides for the individual a feeling of independence and security

13. Educators who have become sensitized to the various failings that exist in the black community, e.g., Uncle Tomism, militancy, separatism, integrationism, black bourgeoisie, and others.

(Bard: Continued from page 12)

to make the two-year schools relevant to current requirements, especially in urban centers.

Following this year's Washington conference on The Urban Community College, the president submitted a fourteen-point program to move significantly toward fulfillment of the Tildon thirteen-point credo. Below is a summary of the fourteen points and the action taken since February 1, 1969. In practically all cases, actions previous to that taken in 1969 undergirded that taken after the Washington conference in January of this year.

1. *The need for accelerating recruitment from among the inner-city black poor:* Jerry E. Mechling states that "the poor youth's chance of attending a community college is only one-fourth that for the nonpoor." [1] In Baltimore City, a study of the inner city shows that a number of census tracts—black and white—have less than 5 per cent of those between eighteen and twenty-one years attending any higher educational institution, while on the perimeter of the city, some census tracts—black and white—have as many as 50 per cent or more in this category.

For the past two years, the Community College of Baltimore has had inner-city recruitment centers with significant numbers of young people responding. Last April, the college initiated a person-to-person recruitment campaign carried out largely by students (all blacks) in the New Careers federal program for hard-core unemployed. These students were new to the college, and they expressed the meaningfulness of their work-study program in child-care aid training. About thirty students rang doorbells and talked to neighbors and to their neighbors' college-age children about the importance of studying at the Community College of Baltimore. This was the poor talking to the poor—telling them that they could succeed in part- or full-time studies. The financial-aid officer sought and secured additional federal funds in the form of student loans and grants.

The college expects its present 27 per cent black enrollment to go beyond 30 per cent next year—a significant rise considering that five years ago the Negro enrollment was no more than 7 or 8 per cent.*

2. *The need to take a hard look at attrition*

3. *The need to review and revise the one- and two-year occupational programs in order to make certain that they are a part of career ladders so that young people do not see themselves as "locked in":* In March 1969, the college hired a director of developmental studies for the purpose of accelerating action on the two points noted above. It was realized that merely bringing more students into the college from the inner city was not enough. Remediation, strengthening of self-concept, and fulfillment was needed to accompany mere acceptance. Under the new director, plans were initiated in April for tutorial services and additional counseling on a one-to-one basis at hours convenient to the students. The whole idea centered around the concepts: The college cares; it is not too late to improve your grades; failure is not permanent—another try and another curriculum is in order.

There is no doubt that many borderline cases were salvaged and many cases of "wrong curriculum" were adjusted. The college, itself, looked at its grading practices and discussed "delayed grades" (withholding any mark in June and giving it after several weeks but not necessarily the entire period of the summer session, the number depending upon the student) and "canceled grades" (not counting in accumulated quality-point averages those subjects in the first semester which were failed but not needed in a new curriculum selected for the second semester). The college also looked at the whole concept of transferability of credits with a view toward permitting credit for more work in so-called certificate programs for those students who showed they could move up the ladder in their respective fields, e.g., move from a New Careers program in child-care aide to a two-year degree nursing program.

4. *The need to speed up its program to complete the second campus of the college to be located in the harbor and inner-city portion of Baltimore:* The

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* It is important to note that Maryland segregated schools and colleges until 1954. Furthermore, Morgan and Coppin State Colleges have served Negro students with distinction for years. The tradition among middle class blacks is to go to Morgan State. Then, too, teacher education majors—about 20 per cent of the college's enrollment—can go to any state college including Morgan, Coppin, Towson, and Bowie free of tuition, while at the Community College of Baltimore, a municipal institution, the tuition is $300 a year. Thus, until the tuition is the same in local and state colleges—with Morgan and Coppin at our doorsteps—a large number of black students will prefer to attend the former all-Negro colleges. The Community College of Baltimore would have more than 50 per cent black students in fall 1969 if this were not true.

Mechling and other studies show that such a campus scheduled to be located in the midst of the poor population and at the same time at the door-steps of the industrial, business, commercial, and governmental headquarters would bring about a fulfillment for both students and the city. The college has had success in securing permission from the city's planning boards and from other necessary channels for the second campus. The present campus is on the edge of the inner city about five miles from the harbor campus site. The board of trustees in March 1969 voted to step up plans and to move the target date forward from 1975 to 1972 or 1973.

The responsible municipal agencies agreed with the change. Last May, an architect was selected to draw up the preliminary plans so that the first portion of the $14 million bond issue could go on the ballot in 1970.

This campus will be the first undergraduate college institution in East and South Baltimore. In the Northeast and Northwest, on the perimeter of the city, there are nine colleges. The Harbor Campus of the Community College of Baltimore will be a symbol that college is also for the poor.

To avoid waiting until 1973 to move into the harbor area, plans call for renting space in the World Trade Building, scheduled for completion in 1971.

5. *The need to continue and expand its Upward Bound programs:* Three years ago, high school students who graduated from the class of June 1968 proved their mettle at the Community College of Baltimore and even at some of the Ivy-League schools such as Johns Hopkins. The college aims to secure a larger Upward Bound class and especially to seek more white high school students. Until this year, the 100 or so students in the class have included only one or two whites.

6. *The need to continue and expand the federal-aid programs for hard-core unemployed:* Last year, the college initiated a New Careers program. In March of this year, the college included a federally funded child-care aide program in cooperation with the Child Welfare League of America and the Health and Welfare Council of Baltimore; at the same time, the college introduced a job preparation program for released prisoners who had been committed for felonious crimes.

7. *The need to continue and expand curriculum development in career programs and in transfer programs:* The fascinating aspect of the development of career programs in the allied health fields, in the technologies, and in government, business, and general services, is that as new programs are organized, new occupations are opened to black citizens. For example, opportunities in dental laboratory technology and in radio and television broadcasting were opened as soon as black graduates presented themselves. Four-year colleges and state universities in the Maryland area actually sought out Negro graduates from the Community College of Baltimore, knowing that the first two years of success at an integrated school was almost a guarantee for success at their institutions. The same favorable factor affected white graduates. Once a school passes the percentage of tokenism for either race, its graduates benefit in that both industry and other colleges often seek out students who have been educated in a highly integrated, racially mixed campus.

8. *The need to offer the immediate and the broad community meaningful services:* The college is located in a predominantly middle-class Negro neighborhood. In fact, its southern boundary is contiguous to that of a 100 per cent black junior high school. The college students' cars are parked on a lot that adjoins the junior high. Moreover, an outdoor narrow stairway is used commonly by both college and junior high: In the morning, one group goes up after parking its cars, and the other goes down from home to school; in the afternoon, the opposite for each. To some junior high students, the college student is an "outsider"—he doesn't live in the neighborhood. To a few college students, the junior high kids are seen only as a menace to their parked cars.

In early May, a series of meetings with representatives of the administration, faculty, and students brought forth a number of positive actions based on friendly understandings. First, the student organizations from both schools arranged for small-group visitation at the college, guided by college students who are graduates of that junior high. Second, packets of tickets to the college's concerts, art shows, and theatrical performances were to be given to the junior high for use by its students. Third, a large batch of enrollment spaces were reserved for the junior high students in the college's sports skills clinic operated yearly during summer months, under federal funds, by the physical education department for junior and senior high boys and girls. Fourth, arrangements were made for an interchange of teacher lectures on special subjects.

Most important of all, the representatives of the two student bodies are talking about organizing a broad cultural committee to embrace representation from the elementary, the senior high, and the four-

year college whose grounds practically abut each other as one moves south toward the inner city. The purpose would be to beautify the cultural area which represents all schools, embracing nearly 100 acres in the form of a crescent. The plan also calls for mutual scheduling of musical and cultural shows and for mutual understanding. Plans were drawn up as well for the junior high and college students to have a joint committee patrol the parking lot and the outdoor stairway, and to arrange for firm and fair punishment when needed.

In April of this year, the board of trustees passed a resolution permitting Baltimoreans over sixty-five years of age to study free of tuition if their economic means were strained. The ruling should have high appeal to the aged in the neighborhood.

9. *The need to recruit students from predominantly poor and middle class white ethnic neighborhoods as well as from predominantly black neighborhoods:* There are large areas of Baltimore—black and white—where less than 20 per cent of high school graduates go to any college. Studies have shown that as the college—with the financial assistance of city, state, and federal funds—has helped push the numbers up from 5 per cent to nearly 20 per cent in these areas; most of the increase in college attendance has shown up at the Community College of Baltimore.

Last March, in addition to person-to-person recruitment by New Careers students in the inner city (mostly black), the college initiated a door-to-door campaign by students from neighborhoods other than the inner city where college enrollment was low. Results were good, and counselors had their largest batch of applicants ever to interview.

Also in March, the college bought a station wagon outfitted as an interview headquarters. The various shopping centers throughout the city cooperated in setting aside space for exhibits and talks with circuit-riding counselors. The idea is to bring the college to the people, especially in areas where college education is not conceived as a possibility for the young.

10. *The need to improve teacher techniques so that the learning styles of students are taken into consideration:* There has long been recognition of the fact that as the college enrolls more high risk students, there is the need for changes in teaching methods in addition to remediation and curriculum changes. Recently, the college expanded its teaching-aids collection, hired two audiovisual coordinators, and set up a "tools for learning" headquarters in the library. The audiovisual coordinators demonstrate the use of new teaching materials and assist teachers in using them as tools for learning.

The problem of making learning concrete and then formulating abstractions is an important concept for teachers who find many slow learners on their class rolls. But mere use of audiovisuals and field trips is not enough. A trip to observe the Maryland State Legislature in action may help conceptualize an abstraction; however, a trip to the state capitol in order to testify at a hearing on a bill that has real meaning in the area of improved housing or additional state aid for community college education identifies the concept of representative government with the "here and now" which is meaningful. Classroom study of such bills and library reference readings on what other states are doing ties in the theory with the practice.

11. *The need to help black students to improve their self-concept:* A year ago the college introduced Afro-American history as an elective for all students and as a preferred elective for those in fields such as government service and social welfare technology; during the 1968-69 collegiate year, a number of African cultural shows were held at the college.

More significant than any other moves by the college toward improving the black student's self-image was the increase in black representation on the board of trustees (three out of seven members), on the faculty and administrative staffs, and on the secretarial and other nonteaching staffs, each approximating the student body at about a 70 to 30 ratio.

In May 1969, the student body elected a Negro president, the first in its history, a black vice-president, and two white students as secretary and treasurer of the Student Government Association. The opposing slates were both integrated, and successful candidates came from each slate. That a black student could win the election in a college where slightly over 70 per cent of the electorate was white is a tribute to the students' view of race.

The student and his image is developed largely before he enters college, and even the current impacts go beyond the hours of schooling. There is no attempt here to be simplistic and to lay great claims for building self-image through college associations, yet to underestimate the importance of college hours is equally wrong.

12. *The need for building an honors program:* The community college can easily create an image of concern alone for the intellectually slow learner and for the average learner. There have always been very bright black and white students in community colleges. It is not undemocratic to offer special courses for these students. In the summer of 1969, high school juniors of high intellectual at-

tainment were permitted to enroll at C.C.B. in special courses with full college credit under transfer arrangements with the University of Maryland and the six, state four-year colleges.

In September 1969, a director of honors programs began stepping up activities in this area.

13. *The need for in-service teacher education in the area of education for an urban development thrust:* A college that has moved in ten years (especially the last three), from virtually an all-white enrollment to a strong racial mix and from a strong emphasis on transfer programs to emphasis on career and occupational programs (from limited to open-door enrollment), has a lot of catching-up to accomplish. Fully 25 per cent of the faculty at the college are pre-1959, and they represent a larger proportion of officers on the faculty senate and other status positions. Moreover, newer and younger faculty members are not necessarily better prepared to adjust to new demands. Pre-educational requirements for community college teaching virtually ignores studies in urban sociology.

In recent years, there have been many departmental and some general faculty meetings on the theme of adjusting to new requirements. In the spring of 1969, the college formulated plans to hold a series of concentrated sessions on meeting the new demands of teaching in urban community colleges. The college's urban affairs department is taking the lead in conjunction with the National Training Laboratories in planning to train leaders from within the college so that they in turn can promote in-service programs through the faculty senate for the entire faculty throughout the 1969-70 year.

14. *The need for the Community College of Baltimore as a racially integrated institution to prove that the whole idea is worthwhile and can work:* Underlying the whole idea of progress is the concept that racial integration is mutually beneficial to all students—black and white—and that ultimately it favorably affects the city and state. Baltimore City's population is rapidly approaching a 50 to 50 black-white ratio. There is no doubt that students who study together are better prepared to cooperatively run the city. The college can be a symbol for Baltimore City and the state, both still affected somewhat by a traditional border-state culture.

In May 1969, the college moved toward organizing a college council with representatives from the five formally organized councils serving the faculty, administration, students, secretarial staff, and custodial maintenance staff. The purpose of the college council is to bring about better communication among the various segments of the college and to advise the president on issues that go beyond the jurisdiction of any single segment, especially those issues of a special nature: the budget; emergencies such as student boycotts; and natural and criminal acts such as storms, fires, and violence against the college or its students and officers.

To build a common concern, accompanied by an increased role in governance on the part of all segments, is the dual responsibility of the college. Only when both ingredients are present can the college be a viable institution.

While four-year colleges in Baltimore have placed much of their emphasis on being *urbane*, the Community College of Baltimore has placed its main thrust on being *urban*. The college senses that it is a part of the shame, the decay, the crime on the streets, and the schisms characteristic of Baltimore and other large cities. But it is also part of the hope, the dream, the reconstruction, and the promise. Actually, there is a strong commonality that embraces both the academic freedom the university seeks and the social and economic mobility the inner city desires.

The urban community college is in a unique position to fulfill the hopes of the N.I.P.A.-AAJC Urban Community College Conference. First, it is a young institution; thus, it has not acquired the rigidity that comes from overbearing traditions, good as traditions may be. In this case, the lack of status puts the community college in closer empathy to the poor, the unaccepted, and the classless. Point to an urban community college and you've named an institution which just yesterday was all three itself—poorly housed and financed, unaccepted as a college by those in the ivy-decked halls, and classless in academe.

(Wilson: Continued from page 12)

Civic leaders, educators, and administrators, all see the solution strictly from an academic standpoint to add black studies, black instructors, and more black students to the college scene.

This is only part of the answer. Trying to right the wrong that has been perpetrated in the past—and is still present—is the true issue. The issue prevalent on college campuses today is how to bring the two races together as one while being aware of each sector as an individual entity. America can exist in cultural pluralism; indeed, it can be united best through a pluralistic state.

The greatest contribution a college could make to its students is to unite them as a people—aware of the etiology and existence of one another—and to create a viable force for peaceful racial coexistence.

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[1] Mechling, J. E. *The Case for a System of Inner-City Community Colleges.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.

*By Carl B. Stokes**

Social Action and the Community College

Junior Colleges Are Ideally Suited To Meet the Urban Crisis

When a mayor steps before almost any audience these days, you can be reasonably sure he will be asking for help in meeting the urban crisis. The condition of our cities, the litany of urban problems, of necessity, is the constant subject of mayors' speeches. This must be so because the urgency and complexity of urban problems is greater than the general public is able or willing to recognize.

And when the audience is composed of educators, a mayor like myself hopes for an especially attentive ear because colleges and the academic community can be of such great assistance in meeting the challenge of these crises.

Substandard housing, poverty, unemployment, discrimination, congested and inadequate transportation, air and water pollution—these are the day-to-day realities of the modern city. The universities and colleges must get involved in these problems, must offer guidance, and must help in the providing of solutions.

There is no question but that the traditional detachment of academia from the cities' problems is a luxury which neither the cities nor institutions of higher learning can any longer afford. I feel that the junior college is in some measure a reaction against the traditional noninvolvement of universities in the affairs of their communities and districts.

And yet, the hoped-for level of cooperation between these colleges and city government has not yet been achieved. The urban issues of 1969 have been with us for a long time, and many colleges still appear reluctant to come forward to help.

There must be reasons why city governments and institutions of higher learning have failed so often to harmonize their objectives in action when the need is so obvious. The fault, of course, lies on both sides.

City government has not always been receptive to the kind of help which colleges and universities can offer. Many of our public agencies and departments have operated as closed systems, satisfied to proceed on the basis of the experience of the past rather than the needs of the future. It is hard for those who have run a public agency for a long time to view it objectively, to see that it needs rejuvenation, that it lacks relevance, and to welcome outside advice and assistance. Academic expertise and new ideas can appear threatening to a bureaucrat who considers himself secure in time-tested methods.

Legislative bodies have not always been responsive to rational, analytic advice. There is some fear or distrust of the intellectual, or being labeled "an egghead." The advice of consultants and technical experts sometimes is rejected or just not sought in the first place when such fear or distrust holds way.

Our governmental and political system lacks the stability and consistency of the academic environment, and that may cause those in the academic environment to shun those of us in the political arena. Some of us who run for office lose occasionally (in fact, more "occasionally" than most of us like); public projects often have funding of short duration and uncertain continuance. Teachers and administrators of institutions of higher learning like to engage in long-range projects which require a stability not common to the public sector.

I realize that I have been making some sweeping statements about institutions of higher learning and academic attitudes without stressing the difference between junior colleges and the four-year colleges and universities.

First, let me say some general things about the junior college movement and then draw some comparisons between junior colleges and universities.

I regard the junior college movement as one of the most hopeful and promising developments on the national scene today.

* An address given at the AAJC Convention.

After decades of regarding higher education as a special privilege for those who can afford it, we are now approaching the day when no student of ability will be denied the opportunity to develop his mind and talents.

At a time of massive technological change, when people need constant upgrading and retraining in order to maintain vocational viability, we can look to the junior college to respond quickly to the changing conditions of the labor market.

When thousands of youth are graduating from high schools without the skills and special education to enter meaningful careers, we can turn to junior colleges for their specialized educational programs.

At a time when professionals are clamoring for high entrance requirements, the junior college is preparing thousands of people who had inadequate, educational backgrounds for careers as technicians in social service agencies, schools, libraries, and, yes, even city halls.

I could cite many other important attributes of junior colleges that make me optimistic about their potential importance in American society and their ability and willingness to help meet the urban crisis.

At the same time, I recognize some possible dangers. I wonder what will happen when the junior college movement becomes more institutionalized—when financial support is more secure and when larger numbers of talented faculty seek appointments. The temptation, I am afraid, will be to emulate older, prestigious colleges and universities which traditionally have permitted noninvolvement in urban problems to be one of their characteristics.

Restrained Participation

I hope you will consider carefully some of the reasons why universities and colleges in the past—and many still today—have held back from participating intimately in meeting the cities' critical problems.

A major reason why universities have not participated fully is that they have been trapped by the age-old conception of the role of the academic institutions. Universities and professional school leaders often regard themselves as detached and elite, somehow feeling that they must remain above the teeming masses in order to maintain objectivity and independence.

While I strongly believe that the university must maintain sufficient independence so as not to become the handmaiden of any special interest, it must at the same time be part of the real life of the community. It cannot, in a self-imposed vacuum, prepare young people for the realities of today's urban community.

There are historical precedents for this kind of involvement. The agriculture extension program was a recognition that universities and colleges had a responsibility that went beyond education and research. Helping farmers with new technology to increase their productivity extended the definition of the role of the university into the area of public service. Somehow it was appropriate to assist farmers, but to aid poor people of the inner city and of the rural countryside has not become equally appropriate.

Thankfully—The Junior College

But now, thankfully, we have the junior college. In some respects, the junior college is the urban counterpart of the agricultural extension school. The distinguishing feature of the community college is its clear goal of service to the community.

In this regard, the extent to which community colleges are prepared to gear their policies and programs to the urgent problems that surround them will in large measure determine whether they become appendages of larger universities or unique institutions with their own identities.

I am suggesting here that real community involvement goes beyond technical and special education for your student bodies. It extends to the point of regarding the community itself as the classroom.

Let me cite some specific examples of areas in which you are now playing important community roles but in which additional effort is greatly needed.

The concept of community self-determination—community control—has become a dominant theme across the land. I firmly believe in the principle of community self-determination; but, I also believe it must be applied rationally and democratically.

For far too long government and voluntary agencies, private investors and landlords have treated people in poverty areas as helpless children, both needing and subject to simple manipulation. This has been corrosive, demeaning, and destructive not only to the individuals involved but also to our basic democratic processes.

The poor and the dispossessed need a voice. Excluded minority groups need political and economical influence. Otherwise those in positions of power will ignore or abuse them or both. But community power without the knowledge of where to apply it can be destructive.

It has been my experience time and time again that community groups are able to bring issues to a point of crisis but then lack the knowledge to translate protest into program. If citizen participation and community self-determination are to work, there must be strong educational support.

If local communities seek to have a greater voice in educational decisions, they must be able, for example, to critically evaluate the weaknesses and merits of the present educational system. They must be able to introduce ideas for new programs and policies that correct the inadequacies.

I cite education only as an illustration; the principle applies to many areas. In my city at this time, we are moving to create neighborhood-based multiservice centers. Such centers will offer and coordinate a wide range of services such as health, education, employment, housing, and others. The key characteristic, however, is that the planning and policy decisions will be in the hands of community corporations. It is essential that the people involved in the planning and decision making have special training to represent effectively the interest of their community.

A Vital Role

Multiservice projects, model cities, and other self-determination programs will be accelerated all across the land. In this process the community college has a vital role. Special educational programs for these kinds of community groups seem to be entirely consistent with what your mission should be.

Another way in which a community college can become involved is through contributions to the city in research and technical assistance. Few city departments, public agencies, or community organizations have adequate funds to attract the caliber of staff needed to conduct research or provide consultation on administrative problems. Many junior colleges have such talented personnel. We can delineate the avenues to channel these talents into community organizations and our own governmental departments.

Let me mention one obstacle to the deep college involvement that cities need and want. It is the amorphous nature of your decision-making processes. Often it is difficult for the entire academic animal to move in a concerted direction even when the head has pointed the way. The interests of trustees, administration, faculty, and students are each different. And, as we are so painfully witnessing, they are not always—in fact, not even frequently—in harmony.

Trustees are interested in growth and development. The administration is concerned with financing, good faculty, and stability. The faculty wants tenure, advancement, recognition, and manageable teaching loads. Students seek to learn about themselves, the world in which they are living, to give meaning to institutions, to begin developing careers, and to have a good time.

These characterizations are oversimplified, but they indicate why it is so difficult to direct the energies of the college to the problems of the world. While the junior college may have greater flexibility in choosing new trails to blaze, I am sure you are not immune from these conflicting interests.

A related problem is the recent upheaval that many American colleges have been experiencing. Campus demonstrations have exposed both the undercurrent of tension in the universities today and the inability or refusal of many schools to accommodate to change.

Although some of the confrontations are due to a number of students being caught up in radical action for its own orgistic sake, many of them are legitimate calls for universities to become relevant to a new society emerging around them.

I do not know how serious the student protest has been on the campuses of all of your junior colleges, but it seems to me that you are in a stronger position to respond positively to legitimate demands for a change.

The most frequent grievance expressed by students is that universities are highly unrepresentative of the communities in which they exist. This is especially true for urban areas. The composition of student bodies, faculties, and boards of trustees, almost without exception, fails to reflect the mix of people in our metropolitan areas. In the facilities of most schools, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-speaking persons are almost nil. There is no need to speak of boards of trustees.

Despite recent efforts in many schools to recruit students who would redress the imbalance reflected in their ranks, the inner city is seriously unrepresented in almost all schools. Lopsided representation is bound to influence the order of priorities for students and faculties in these schools.

Identity Crises

I am not making an original comment when I say that most colleges and universities are undergoing identity crises. Should they proceed in the traditional concept of the university—separate, detached, elite, rational, analytic? Or should they, particularly urban schools, set their goals in terms of the current needs of society?

In some fields a number of universities and colleges have opted for the second course. They are directing talent toward research in foreign policy and in the development of projects crucial to national defense. But this same commitment has not occurred in the urban policy fields.

There are, however, some beginning signs of movement, at least in Cleveland. Leadership in

Cleveland colleges and universities, I am proud to report, has demonstrated great interest in working with the city on a variety of projects. Communication between city government and the academic community is much closer and more frequent now than at any time in the past.

Cuyahoga Community College

One of the nation's newest public two-year colleges, geared to the needs of the urban community, is Cleveland's Cuyahoga Community College headed by Charles E. Chapman. Cuyahoga Community College opened its doors in 1963 to 3,000 full- and part-time students. It was the largest opening-day enrollment figure in the history of the flourishing junior college movement.

In its five and a half years of existence, Cuyahoga Community College already has served tens of thousands of greater Clevelanders. They have come from all walks of life and every corner of the community. In fact, Cuyahoga Community College, in recent years, has been the choice of one of every four college-bound residents of greater Cleveland.

In addition to its university-parallel and technical-occupational offerings, which have provided thousands of graduates with the basis for their business careers or their academic pursuits at dozens of colleges and universities throughout the United States, the college has endeavored to meet specific community needs through such projects as:

The college skills program, designed to sharpen the perceptual and communicative skills of freshmen;

Project Search, an educational counseling and referral agency operating in Cleveland's Hough area;

Project E.V.E., which operates an information, counseling, and referral service for adult women interested in continuing education, volunteer work, and employment;

Project New Careers, which is presently training 100 inner city men and women for positions with the city of Cleveland as plumbing inspector aides, recreation aides, water servicemen, interviewer aides, and health technician aides.

On all fronts, in all directions, Cuyahoga Community College is on the move to meet the diverse needs of the complex urban community surrounding it and to continue to provide comprehensive up-to-date educational offerings to all greater Clevelanders.

A great measure of credit for its outstanding achievements goes to a great educator and civic leader, Dr. Chapman. His deep commitment and his concern for the pressing problems of Cleveland have been demonstrated over and over again.

I would like to take special note of his public support of a controversial decision that I had to make last summer when Cleveland experienced a potentially disastrous disturbance: the Glenville disturbance involving a gun fight which took ten lives—three of them policemen—and over twenty civilians and policemen who were wounded.

Permit me to conclude my comments by focusing on a specific program, which I regard as especially vital, namely, the New Careers program. Many junior colleges are already deeply involved in New Careers training, but I am convinced that these efforts must be multiplied ten-fold. As you know, the New Careers movement seeks to accomplish two major objectives:

1. Ease the manpower shortage and improve client services in health, education, and welfare by restructuring the job hierarchy; and
2. Develop new approaches to the education and training of the undereducated, underemployed, and unemployed, geared to their specific life styles.

The technology necessary to achieve the objectives of New Careers is formidable. But if we succeed, there are the prospects of employing hundreds of thousands of people throughout this country in meaningful careers. The prospects are good for a great expansion in federal assistance to New Careers programs.

It is essential, however, that institutions of higher learning become heavily involved in order to insure competence and stability. This is a great challenge to the community college since it demonstrates your willingness, flexibility, and ability to depart from the elitist university model.

The specter that seems to frighten many educators in considering the education, training, and employment of undereducated people is the possible lowering of standards and watering-down of quality. I ask you not to be put off by this specter, or you will forsake the real challenge.

While you may be compelled to lower your entrance requirements, it does not automatically mean that you must compromise your performance standards. It does mean that you will have to abandon traditional formulas of teaching and develop new techniques geared to the needs and life styles of your students.

No Group Better Suited

I firmly believe that there is no group better suited to be of immense help to those of us engaged in meeting America's greatest challenge—the urban crisis—no group better suited in terms of philosophy, past performance, background, and commitment than you who are engaged in and by our junior colleges.

Let me praise you for your commitment and for your performance. Let me urge and plead with you to increase that commitment and improve upon that performance.

CHANGING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM TO MEET CHANGES IN SOCIETY

Can the Community College Meet A New Role in New Times?

*By Norvel Smith**

As two-year colleges attempt to effect changes that are necessary to deal with the needs and concerns of the new constituency and times, a number of issues emerge which will determine whether the *community college* can meet its new mandate as it moves away from its former role as a *junior college.*

To begin with, there is the need for most of our institutions to aggressively seek the expansion of their low-income, disadvantaged, and minority group enrollments on the campus. For the most part, this implies an outreach program that will acquaint eligible high school students and others capable of profiting from higher education with the offerings of the institution as well as assisting them to cope with the bureaucratic structure involved in gaining admission to the college and beginning their college careers. Such a recruitment program requires the use of a different type of personnel, including the need to use faculty and other recruitment staff who reflect the ethnic and racial backgrounds of those to be recruited because many minority students are hesitant to enroll in institutions where they do not find authority figures such as faculty and administrators to whom they can relate on a personal basis.

Many of our community colleges are still not prepared to really open their doors to the new constituency—partly because of hesitance to make the internal administrative changes in the structure of the institution and partly because of the hesitance of faculty to reorganize the learning process to deal with those handicapped by educational deficiencies. Until we are prepared to accept the role of the community college as the last resort for a major segment of the eligible college population, we shall not be in a position to feel proud of our attempts to democratize higher education. This means that we should take a hard look at the number of middle class, out-of-district students who are occupying spaces that could be filled by residents of our own districts who have never had access to higher education. It also means that we have to take a hard look at the many perpetual students who have completed numbers of units far exceeding lower-division requirements but who prefer continuing in our environment rather than moving on to a four-year institution for which many of them are qualified. Part of this may reflect the lack of a career decision on behalf of the student, but some of it reflects oversights in college policy.

At a college like Merritt (Oakland, California), it is no great accomplishment to recruit and enroll large numbers of low-income and minority students, but it is an accomplishment to keep these new students enrolled throughout the first year. The crisis that we face is in strengthening our holding power, and the issues that we have to deal with are those that relate to the provision of necessary supportive services in the pupil personnel area, including ade-

* An address given at the AAJC Convention.

quate and effective counseling, financial aids, tutoring, part-time employment, health services, etc. Here again, the issue of resources is a major one as well as the number of legal roadblocks which hinder our ability to do the job that is needed. Many of our institutions are not able to use local district funds to match federal funds for financial aids, and, as a result, we find ourselves not tapping the full resources available from this source. Many of us are not able to provide meals for needy students because of legal restrictions of this activity to the elementary and secondary schools. Many of us are unable to expand our outreach to the disadvantaged target area community because we lack the know-how (and sometimes the will) and because we are too occupied with meeting the needs of disadvantaged students presently on campus. What I am trying to say is that we must be prepared to assume that a meaningful program of education at the community college level has to include the essential supportive services or we are simply spinning our wheels in attempting to provide relevant instruction to a segment of the student body which does not represent a suitable raw material for us to work with.

Integrated Faculty

I referred earlier to the need to have faculties that reflect the ethnic balance of the student body and the community to be served. This presents real problems in most urban communities where the number of well-trained and experienced minority faculty members is exceedingly limited and where the competition for their services is great. Part of this is a reflection of the fact that relatively few minority graduate students have gone into the field of higher education in recent years, having been lured away by the newly emerging opportunities in industry and in the private sector generally. However, I am convinced that intensive recruitment, nationwide if need be, can result in the acquisition of the necessary minority manpower, and we should begin by looking at the thousands of qualified and experienced secondary school teachers who would make fine instructors in many of our community colleges, considering the fact that the majority of our present white instructors have come to us by way of the secondary school field.

We should not assume, however, that the mere presence of minority faculty members on our campuses will solve the basic problem of communicating with minority students, as many black faculty members bring with them the same lack of idealism and empathy that characterize some white faculty members. It will be necessary for effective administrators to work with minority faculty to instill in them a special sense of responsibility for meeting the needs of minority students as well as for assisting white faculty to relate to minority students through sensitivity and other related training that involves students as participants if not as instructors.

Financial Support

We are plagued in this country with a myth that says we are overtaxed in relationship to our income and wealth. This is a myth which we must not allow to go unchallenged if we are to find the will as well as the way for providing the solution to the problem of offering a quality higher education to all of the peoples' children. Our real income is at its highest level in the history of the nation, and the relationship between personal income and debts is more favorable than it has ever been. Compared with Western European nations, the tax load in this country is certainly not repressive for most middle- and upper-income families. The problem as voiced by Walter Lippmann several years ago is that the affluent 80 per cent in this country do not care to make the sacrifice necessary to bring the nonaffluent 20 per cent into the system. (The percentage of affluent or "comfortable" has since risen to 85 per cent.) I recognize the fact that not all of the low-income population is capable of becoming productive and independent, but my experience with the anti-poverty program would suggest that at least 80 per cent of the poor and low-income families in the country are headed by persons who want to improve their economic status, who work every day, but simply do not make enough money to make ends meet or to provide a stimulating and wholesome home environment for their children.

I should also point out that many taxpayers do not feel that educators have the ability to cope with the problems of providing relevant education for all people, and we are going to have to make sure that our technology and our pedagogy are refined to the point where we have a suitable product to sell. Some taxpayers are also raising the issue of whether they should be continuing to support a higher education system that develops critics of our society and foments revolution. I think these largely upper-middle class citizens should take a hard look at where most of the money is going in higher education, e.g., for the education of a white, middle class elite—which means that they will be injuring their own sons and daughters in any attempt to stifle the continuing development of higher education in this country.

Certainly, the most significant issue related to my topic is that which concerns the whole student movement—in many ways an expansion of the social revolution in this country. Let's start by briefly

looking at what appears to be the nature of the student concerns which are resulting in the present campus disorders.

Students are demanding respect from faculty members and administrators, along with serious concern for their opinions and feeling as the clients of the colleges' and universities' services.

Secondly, they are asking for more meaningful involvement in decision-making beyond the perfunctory level of advice. They are asking administrators and faculties to share power with them.

Thirdly, they are expressing concern for the lack of relevance in the instructional program, by which most of them mean the inability of faculty to relate their instruction to contemporary conditions in society or to relate to the environments out of which many of the students come, particularly in the liberal arts and social science fields.

Fourthly, most minority students are expressing great concern about the lack of meaningful ethnic studies programs that both reinforce their cultural image and provide an extension of general education to include the historical prospective and experience of the ethnic and racial minorities of this country. They are saying that they should not have to sacrifice their cultural identities in order to integrate themselves into the majority culture. This, after all, is the essence of what a multicultural society should allow.

Finally, students are expressing concern with some of the mechanical procedures related to such matters as the handling of student grievances and the lack of accessibility to faculty, both physical accessibility and psychological accessibility.

Summary

I would like to offer a few suggestions concerning changes that need to be made regarding the last and most crucial issue to which I have addressed my remarks. The student protest movement should be understood as being fundamentally valuable in that it makes everyone question his own complacency. While I recognize that there is a difference between the broadly based protest movement which is concerned with liberalizing the educational system through a radical shake-up of the educational bureaucracy and through greater student participation, I also recognize the presence of another smaller and narrower movement which is based on revolutionary politics. Nevertheless, in my experience, the leadership of both movements are basically raising issues that are of great concern to the broad student constituency and to society as a whole.

To be specific with reference to changes, I think that we should start by making the students, rather than the faculty and administration, the primary unit of education.

We should then mobilize our efforts to have the educational process include both action and reflection, both on and off the campus.

We at the community college level in particular should be seriously engaged in expanding our services to our total community, in terms of reaching the unreached and in terms of providing technical assistance for the solution of the community's basic social and economic problems.

We should be formally involving students in the selection of faculty and administrators as well as in evaluation of the performance of these staff members.

We should make much more use of students as teaching assistants at the community college level, based upon the good experience that we have had at the four-year college and university levels. This one action alone would do more to facilitate relevance than anything else, not to mention improving communication and bridging the generation gap.

We should involve students more directly in the administration and operation of student enterprises, opening up career opportunities through the valuable experience that could be gained by students on the campus in such fields as business administration and food services management.

Finally, we should set about the development of experimental colleges that might be housed on our campus but which would operate administratively apart from the traditional college bureaucracy with student and community determination of the educational process and content—a place to try out new ideas that will hopefully find their way into the regular curriculum and college structure.

The most significant thing about today's student revolution is the fact that most of the activist students are intensely interested in education. We should recognize this fact and accept student power as a legitimate force to be dealt with and capitalized upon. We develop responsibility among students by extending trust to them. When we administrators and faculty learn to be more empathetic toward student concerns and develop the same feeling of urgency about filling unmet needs with which students are overwhelmed and when we succeed at providing the setting for friendly dialogue, we will have brought about changes in the way we do business that will provide lasting benefits for all of us. We possess power, but we lack idealism and compassion. Students are saying that we must share that power with them or we won't enjoy ours without disruption. We who have made it must make the first move toward reconciliation.

SEGREGATION AND THE ABUSE OF DUE PROCESS ON THE CAMPUS

American Higher Education Must Take Its Feet Off the Desk

*By William M. Birenbaum**

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following remarks by Dr. Birenbaum draw on a theme developed in his new book, *Overlive: Power, Poverty and the University,* Delacorte Press.

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At every significant point in the history of American education, the connection between the cultivation and use of intelligence has been a central theme. In behalf of this connection, Thomas Jefferson presented his case for a new university in Virginia, Horace Mann conducted his campaign for universal public education, and Congressman Morrill persuaded his colleagues to underwrite a whole new breed of people's colleges. From John Dewey's progressive left to Robert Hutchins' classical right, education for freedom in one form or another has been featured among the primary purposes of our educational systems.

The same issue is crucial today. What kind of a learning community do we need now to carry out education for freedom in an America where adults over thirty are becoming a minority and losing touch with the younger majority, where blacks at last are on the rise, where concepts of morality really are changing, where higher and higher levels of education are essential for economic survival and political power? This is the question that some of our best young people are putting to us today, and we are not responding. We are responding instead to another issue. A simpler one. One we know we can win: law and order on the campus.

Clearly, law and order is the issue of the day, and the hard line, not reform or even reconsideration, is what is being preached by liberal university professsors, conservative governors and state legislators, and the President of the United States. Talk about power blocs. Can anyone really have any doubt who will "win" on law and order?

Tides of Reaction

In my opinion, the tides of reaction against the young, the black, the poor, the powerless, the idealists, those searching for new commitments and for relevance, are in full flow and have yet to crest. Those in charge, armed with their formidable powers to suspend, to redistribute the credit hours without consultation, to withhold the loan or scholarship, to regulate access to the lush middle class job market, to influence the selective service status, to call the police, will successfully put down the students, the few radical young faculty, the S.D.S. crowd, and the militant Afro-Americans.

He who chooses reform will walk an increasingly lonely and dangerous road in the months ahead. He will be caught in a never-never land between the combatants in the law and order struggle that will

* An address given at the AAJC Convention.

continue to capture the headlines. Each side in that struggle will now retreat further from its own reality: the powerful, through brute force, from the reality of its own failure that caused the trouble in the first place, and the powerless, through more pot and even more outrageous disruptions, from the reality of a survival which depends upon getting an education they are not now getting.

Due Process and Integration

In their zealous defense of our revered institutions, the power coalition has its own academic brand of sloganeering. The Berkeley students had their words, the Establishment has its own. Two of the most popular current slogans are due process and integration. Everyone is rushing in to defend due process and integration on the campus. The premise is that they exist. But what have due process and integration amounted to on the American campus?

A professor at the University of Chicago during that institution's most recent disorders said:

> A university is not a democracy, and never will be. Once we relinquish the power of choosing faculty to the students, the university will cease to be.

Is an undemocratic community the best environment in which to cultivate the intelligence required for effective participation in a free society? Is a consumate campus welfare state the best place in which to encourage self-discipline, individuality, the assumption of the responsibilities which are the burdens of free men, the experience of possessing and using decision-making power which is the essence of freedom education? Chancellor Hitler once told the German people: Give unto me your political and economic freedoms, and I promise you in return the greatest flowering of the sciences and the arts in German history. There were striking similarities between Hitler's due process in the Third Reich and the due process the German professors had built into their universities long before Hitler arrived on the scene.

"Faculty democracy" on most of our campuses is, in fact, an oligarchy of the elite in which elitism is defined mainly by the possession of tenure. The majority of those who teach full-time on our campuses possess neither tenure nor the vote on those critical committees through which academic colleagues recommend the promotion of each other, award tenure, allocate the credit hour currency, and decide what shall be taught. Some due process.

The store of human knowledge fantastically exceeds what can be packed into the credit hour systems upon which degrees are based. Curriculum development is essentially a fine art of selection, strongly flavored by political judgment and the imposition of value positions. Older faculty members who make these judgments and impose these values usually are in no manner responsible for their decisions to the younger adults upon whom these decisions are imposed. Some due process.

The faculty committees now building black subject matter in our educational programs are almost exclusively white. Some due process.

Not only are these decision-makers almost exclusively white, they are also increasingly unionized, shored up by security-oriented civil service systems whose standards and values generally preclude the rapid engagement of specially qualified talent during this period of critical transition in American life. Some due process.

In our universities the vital information required for academic government is generally monopolized by the administrative managers who, through the careful regulation of what is told and what is withheld, may frame policy decisions without being held accountable to those who are governed. Some due process.

According to the recent report issued by the Educational Testing Service at Princeton, the boards of trustees who hold the ultimate power in our universities are overwhelmingly composed of adults over fifty-five, white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, representative mainly of the American industrial and banking corporate complex, and Republicans. More than 80 per cent of them now believe that disruptive students should be expelled; 70 per cent believe that speakers on campuses should be screened by administrators; 53 per cent believe that faculty members should sign loyalty oaths; 40 per cent believe that student newspapers should be censored. If these are their beliefs, these governors are out of touch with the reality they are supposed to govern. Some due process.

Student lawlessness and disorder on the campus is a direct function of the authoritarian and oligarchical order imposed by those who now possess the law-making power in the university. Those who cry out most loudly now against the politicalization of the university are really making a last-ditch defense of the present political rigging of academic privilege and vested interest. Professor Sidney Hook says:

> We cannot believe that the mission of the university is to lead mankind to a New Jerusalem. Any attempt to do so would destroy . . . the university's role to serve as intellectual sanctuary when the winds of popular passion blow . . . The goal of the university is not the quest for power or virtue, but the quest for significant truths . . .

But the passion with which the winds of popular academic consensus now blow reveals how deeply committed the majority are to the present configuration of power in the university and to an elitist version of virtue. The significant truths may be absolute, but they are no longer absolutely Professor Hook's version of them. Indeed, Professor Hook's versions of academic freedom, intellectual sanctuary, and the quest for significant truths exist more in his mind than they exist or ever existed on the campuses of our universities. For those who rule her and enjoy her favors, the Old Jerusalem is not so bad.

Segregation at the Core

At the core of the Old Jerusalem's political rigging is not that noble concept, integration, but segregation—by rank and by class, by the disciplines and by credit hours. In terms of prestige and rewards, the undergraduate is segregated from the graduate, the two-year colleges from the four, the career programs from the liberal arts, research from teaching, learner from teacher, governed from governor. The admissions policies segregate the students into the segregated parts of the system by social class, cultural background, and race. Finally, as a consequence of this, the system tends to segregate the distribution of its ultimate rewards and thus of the opportunities those rewards make possible in the larger American society. The ultimate act of segregation is the wall around the campus which is meant to separate the university from the society which makes its existence possible. The wall fortifies the proclaimed "neutrality" and "objectivity" of an academic system which, inside the walls and in its implications beyond the walls, operates prejudicially and subjectively.

When the medieval scholars broke through the walls of the monastery to flee to the streets of the cities, the Church must have issued a press release warning against the New Jerusalem. Bologna, whose colors march first in our academic parades, was originally a storefront operation, housed in rented halls and cold lofts through which the winds of popular passion certainly blew. The retreat from the streets of the cities into the Oxonian superblock campus was no retreat from the politics of the time. The reconstruction of the monastery's wall around Oxford's superblock was an attempt at party discipline, a redevelopment act as politically charged as the Model Cities Program.

Today, from embattled parapets overlooking the plains of Harlem or the Southside neighborhoods of Chicago, modern knights in their new academic armor cry out in behalf of their traditional rights and privileges, beseiged by the motley hordes wanting in, searching for rights and privileges of their own. Other brave knights have stoutly defended their special privileges and vested interests before. But the walls did not keep the sciences out. The walls did not keep the technologies out. The walls did not keep the tradesmen and the farmers out. The walls did not keep the professions out. The walls did not keep the immigrant masses out. The walls did not keep the Manhattan Project out. The walls did not keep Hitler out. The walls did not keep the GI's or the Fulbright Program out. The walls did not keep the trade unions out or the industrial recruiters or the ROTC credits. The walls *did* keep out the poor, the disenfranchised, the blacks.

Perhaps, at an earlier time, the best defense of academic freedom required the organized centers of learning to build walls between themselves and the worldly arenas of action. But the modern city compels a new connection between thought and action. The new knowledge converts both the city and the urban center of learning into imperative action laboratories, without the use of which no significant learning can be produced. If we expect to reduce the academic crime rate and restore academic law and order, we must be prepared to share the process of academic law making with those we expect to govern. If we really mean an integrated America, we must invent fresh mechanisms for integrating the new knowledge into the curriculum and think afresh about the kinds of segregation we now enforce on the campuses. Finally, because we must live in the cities, because the cities are essential to our continued intellectual progress, we must restructure our institutions to honor and understand the mentality required for successful city life. To do this, we must methodically break down our own walls and launch vast new programs aimed at the disruption of our own un-American academic monopolies.

The Integration of Learning

First, the old demarcation line separating the jurisdictions of the higher educational system from the lower makes less and less educational sense. It is no longer at seventeen or eighteen that the demands of the postschool, adult world begin to take hold of urban youth. The process of education must correspond more realistically to the process of growing up in the city. Growing up in the city respects the reality of human biological development, the significant psychological and cultural events which begin to occur when a person crosses the line from childhood to adolescence. "College" and "high school" are no longer viable educational categories.

Second, the rejuvenation of the decaying urban communities requires a substantial transfer of power from white to black, from the more powerful to the less powerful. This transfer must engage and involve the development of our best and most sophisticated intellectual, technical, and administrative talents. The confrontation between the experts and the people in the context of a power transfer is the most important event in the life of both the campus and the city. This event must be enacted democratically if education for freedom is really among our higher purposes.

Third, people work in places of learning and learn in places of working. We must find new ways to honor the experience of those we seek to educate. The reorganization of our curriculums around problems magnifies the importance of the student's experience in the educational process. As Aristotle said: "What we have to learn to do, we learn by doing." The city and the new knowledge invite doing as a part of learning, acting as a necessary part of thinking.

Fourth, the differences between the upper and lower ranges of performance on the tests we use to admit students are far greater than the actual genetic and biological differences among the same sample of humans. We have not begun to educate people to the outer limits of their capacities. Educational systems, not human beings, are failing. We must confront this reality.

Fifth, the most squandered, underutilized, misused, and abused educational resource in our colleges and universities is students. We must ask ourselves: What setting, what network of relationships achieves the best environment for learning? The authoritarian, patriarchal response to this question is now untenable. Student freedom is an essential educational methodology.

Finally, the superblock campus—the monastic walls shutting out the neighborhoods of the contemporary American city—is a physical representation of monopoly—insular, monolithic, and exclusive. It centralizes buildings, activities, and power for the purpose of its own defense rather than disperses and diffuses its resources in order to equip the people with the power to defend themselves. The urban campus must be in the city. The city itself is the relevant place for learning and the only campus which can really accommodate the implications flowing from the reforms necessary in the American university.

Educational Facilities Laboratories has published a special report, *A College in the City: An Alternative.* That report describes the design for a new college proposed for Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn. I was the leader of a team which included James Farmer, Preston Wilcox, and several other young black and white educators, which, with the guidance and support of Senator Robert F. Kennedy during the year before his death, devoted its full time to the design effort.

College Without Walls

The result is a proposal for a college which welcomes and depends upon the rich tapestry of talent and other institutional resources in the city for its own life. It is a design for a college without walls, woven throughout more than forty blocks on the inner city, housed in both converted and new structures, and intimately linked through its programs with the hospitals, the public schools, the parks, and cultural institutions located in the immediate community. It is meant to be a four-year, urban, internship college addressed especially to the black youth of that community—those who dropped out of a failing high school system and those who somehow have survived it to achieve the diploma. It is a college design calling for the active cooperation of more than a hundred industrial and retail corporations, banks, museums, technical institutions, and professional associations in law and medicine. It is a college to be governed by its community in which the students, faculty, and administrators must share the key decision-making power.

The architectural-planning design for this college was achieved by an Atlanta firm—the one responsible for that city's great new cultural center, Tombs, Amisano and Wells. And the design was completed with a very careful respect for the Model Cities programming projected for this part of New York City.

This proposed alternative for a college in the city is certainly not conclusive—no panacea for the problems besetting urban higher education. But the design is sensitively addressed to the new knowledge, to the new clientele, and the new settings in which we must do our work.

Shortly after I began my work in Bedford-Stuyvesant, I received an unexpected visit from Senator Kennedy in my office. I happened to have my jacket off, my tie loosened, and my feet on the desk. "What are you doing?" the Senator asked. "I'm thinking," I replied. "Fine," said the Senator. "But what are you going to do when you put your feet down?"

American higher education is now being asked to take its feet off the desk. We need to think, but, more than ever before, we must translate what we think into actions which respect our best thought and honor the American aspirations we still claim to cherish.

FROM UPWARD BOUND TO THE JUNIOR COLLEGE - THE FOCUS WAY

The Junior College Meets the Needs of Upward Bound Graduates

By William A. Strauss

The question that is asked about compensatory education programs is . . . "what comes next?" Upward Bound, the substantial and successful college preparatory program for low-income students, ends its relationship with its students as soon as they enter a college; the full responsibility for their academic and social progress lies with the college.

Two-year colleges are suited almost ideally to work with former Upward Bound participants, for students can learn more about their interests and career options before transferring to more specialized university programs. One problem, of course, is that two-year colleges have little or no residential facilities for low-income students (whether in-district or out-of-district).

The FOCUS program has a solution. By seeking broad community participation and by finding "host families" for its students, FOCUS makes the resources of two-year colleges available to former Upward Bound students. FOCUS has a second twist —it places students in colleges in parts of the country which are new to them. This has the dual effect of making the college more special to the student while also making the student more special to the college.

FOCUS is an acronym for the Fellowship of Concerned University Students, a Harvard-based organization of college undergraduates. FOCUS considers educational opportunity to be a national challenge—particularly now that regions are no longer so isolated from each other. The program is designed to open up new channels of communication among people of different ages, regions, and backgrounds while developing leadership potential among former Upward Bound students.

Napa College, a two-year college in Northern California's vineyard hills, has found FOCUS to be as important a program as it is to the FOCUS students on its campus. In the past, the college's social role has been as limited as the socioeconomic diversity of its virtually all-white, predominantly middle class community. A self-sustaining town of 30,000 people, Napa's only real contacts with minority group members come during the annual grape harvests. The atmosphere does not sound conducive to the success of four black FOCUS students from Florida, Louisiana, and Texas—but the program has worked "extremely well," according to the college's dean of student services.

FOCUS's success at Napa is the product of the dedication and enthusiasm of the college, the four host families, and the students. The students are maintaining "B" averages, holding work-study jobs, and participating in a number of college and community activities. George Russell, a graduate of a black, New Orleans high school, finds that he is "doing and seeing things out here in California that I never thought I would do or see in my young life." George is living on a ranch in nearby Calistoga at the home of John Cooley, Napa's assistant district attorney. He indicated that local racial attitudes and his social life could be better—but that the Cooleys and Napa College have made the experience more than worthwhile.

In February, George Russell and the Cooleys invited the thirteen other FOCUS students in Northern California to a ranch-style picnic. At the gathering, the Napa students learned that FOCUS can mean different things to students at different colleges. For example, the four black Tennesseans at nearby Contra Costa College are all living with black families in the Richmond community.

Eight additional junior colleges host FOCUS students this year—Long Beach City College has white FOCUS students from Appalachia, Ventura College is hosting Mexican-Americans from west Texas, and the other schools have former Upward Bound students from throughout the South and Southwest. Altogether, FOCUS worked in eighteen Southern and Western states to place eighty-six students in twenty-five colleges during the past year —and the program expects to quadruple its size in 1969.

The phenomenon of the middle class student going away to college is hardly new—but even the most promising low-income student often has his college opportunities restricted to his home area, limiting his experience and restricting his career options. Just getting away from home is hardly the answer, of course (particularly if the students like the new environment so much that they turn their backs on problems back home). Not all of these leaving their home regions for college will return, but a majority probably will—and those who do will bring better-developed leadership abilities and new perspectives along with them.

This effect is hardly limited to Southerners going West; FOCUS students from the West who are attending Southern Colleges have found the experience to be just an eye-opening. As Ray Martinez, a FOCUS student from Arizona, recalls, "I saw the country only through TV as a crazy mix of strange people and ideas, foreign to my Mexican tradition. Now, here at Louisville, I've begun to sense the nation. I'm feeling at last that I, too, belong to the whole kit and kaboodle of the United States."

Nearly all of the FOCUS students have responded to their new challenges as well as Ray and the students at Napa College. Of the forty-one FOCUS students admitted to junior colleges, thirty-nine are still enrolled, and nearly all have satisfactory (or better) grade averages. Over three-quarters are still with their original host families, and many have begun to emerge as campus leaders.

The FOCUS program had its beginning in 1967 with five black Texans attending the College of San Mateo and living with nearby families. The success of these students prompted the development of FOCUS into an interregional program with a twelve-man staff during summer 1968. The budget was predictably tight (just $15,000), and each staff member had to make do with a $1.50 daily expense allowance for bed and board.

Since the FOCUS staff consisted entirely of college students, the program's field operations were restricted to the summer—and what a summer it was! One staff member survived by baking TV dinners on his engine block, another by relying on his rain-proof, bug-proof pup tent for comfort.

Mike Solet, the FOCUS field representative for Napa, and three other Northern California communities, had a bit more luck. Sympathetic Californians usually extended him their hospitality, although Mike did have to spend an evening on a college president's living room rug. At Napa, Mike learned in mid-June of the college's interest and spent the

first half of the summer meeting with members of the college administration, student groups, and various community organizations.

At the same time, FOCUS' southern field representatives were visiting the Upward Bound projects where the prospective FOCUS students were spending the summer. The field representatives spent as long as a week in the student's dormitories. By establishing personal relationships with the students and by abandoning the usual coat-and-tie element of college interviews, they were able to make selections on a personal basis while simultaneously gaining the trust of the students.

Napa College (like all participating colleges) was asked to set admissions criteria in advance so that the students selected by FOCUS would be admitted, virtually automatically, upon nomination. Napa, having confidence in FOCUS' own screening process, set no criteria.

Because FOCUS staff members had the effective power of admission at the Upward Bound projects, the students had confidence in the program's ability to follow up on any promises. Low-income students are often skeptical of the college admissions process because of their unpleasant prior experiences with other bureaucracies. As a result, many were afraid to get their hopes up about FOCUS until they were absolutely certain that they would not be let down.

While the Upward Bound work was going on, Mike Solet conducted host-family recruitment campaigns in his four participating college communities. In Napa, his job was made more difficult by the fact that $2,000 had to be raised as well (since the college's own financial aid program was quite limited).

Like many participating communities, Napa produced more than twice the number of host family offers than were needed. Fund-raising was also successful, with over $3,500 raised in five months; high schools, churches, college clubs, local industries, and individual Napans all contributed to this success.

Many have commented about how Napa is receiving more than it is giving through FOCUS. Attractive FOCUS student Erma Willis is finding it easy to make friends (George Russell has noticed that the cleanest floors are those outside the office where Erma works, because the floor-scrubber lingers there as long as he can to watch Erma)—and she says that "the kids surprised me because, although they have never been exposed to blacks, they accept all of us." Erma thinks FOCUS will help Napa: "Maybe not the old people, but surely the young people will benefit from us being here."

FOCUS hopes to match Napa's success in eighty to one hundred colleges in the expanded 1969 version of the program. With the help of a greatly expanded budget and staff, FOCUS expects to place about 300 students in colleges throughout the South, Midwest, and West.

The program will still be run entirely by college students—and this summer many of the current FOCUS students will be serving as field representatives. They should be the most honest spokesmen for the program, for no one knows more than they about the value of going to college in a new environment.

This summer as last summer, FOCUS will be looking for the cooperation of colleges interested in admitting promising Upward Bound graduates. Any college interested in participating in FOCUS this summer should contact the program at its school-year headquarters, Adams B-15, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

By Lois Muss

VISTA'S WAR ON POVERTY

Junior Colleges Can Supply Volunteers Needed to Serve in the Front Lines

People have stopped dying in the streets in America. The disappearance of public starvation is surely the kind of social progress the richest country in the world could be expected to make. But it is not the sign of progress against man's oldest enemy, poverty, that most people have assumed it to be.

For people are still dying ten years before their time from having lived their lives on bad food and in appalling conditions of neglect. Their deaths occur out of sight of most of us, on the bankrupt farms, in the dismal mining towns where no more coal is mined and almost no one can find a job, and in the odorous tenements where economic change and lack of education have deposited human beings by the millions.

Death comes to many of the children of these poor in another way. It is a death in mind and spirit and can be complete by the age of eight or ten, causing children to become, in self-defense, what no child was ever meant to be.

It is this kind of poverty that most Americans are shocked to learn exists across town or inside a farmhouse seen from a distance on a Sunday drive. It is the kind of poverty that engulfs upwards of 30 million people in this country today.

When this nation declared war on poverty, and set up VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America, in the hope that young people would volunteer for the front lines, a different kind of commitment was made to rescuing the poor than has ever been made here before.

It was first of all a commitment to opening our eyes to what it is impossible to overlook, once seen—the toll poverty takes on succeeding generations. For poverty to be handed down through three and four generations in a single family is not a sign of simple human inferiority. It is much more often a sign of lack of opportunity. To understand this, one has only to ask the wife of a migrant farm worker living on $800 a year and cradling a baby in a grocery box what she most wants for her children. "Schoolin'—more than we had. We'd like them to settle down with a job. We don't want our kids to live this way."

The war on poverty is therefore being waged not just with baskets of food but with the tools of opportunity—literacy education, job training, health care, counseling and tutoring for children, community planning to attract new industry to dying areas. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which set this enormous rescue in motion, is founded on the idea of mobilizing the total resources of a community or region—including the interest and labor of the poor themselves—to eradicate the conditions on which poverty breeds.

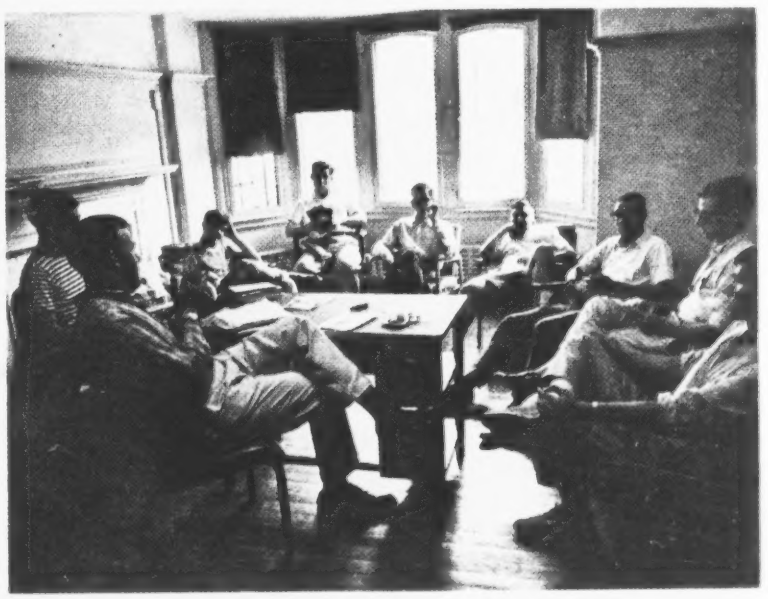
No such war can be fought impersonally. People

who are poor usually are handicapped in too many ways at once for their lives to be materially improved or their expectations changed by simple palliatives, offered at a distance. Neither the fury of teenage gangs nor the suffering endured silently by so many of the aged in their single, dismal rooms are simple disorders; nor is the combination of economic disadvantage and racial discrimination. Poverty is a complex phenomenon, a disease of the whole organism, and a brutalizing process.

To be without functional education as 8 million Americans are, is not only to be the last man hired and the first to be let go. It is not only to be relegated to the worst, most crowded housing, to have to forego doctors and dentists as luxuries. Economic irrelevance is the special fate of the unskilled who leave the ailing farms by the thousands for the alien city; but that is not all there is to being perpetually poor.

Poverty is a social and psychological disaster too. It gives rise to the shame, despair, bitterness, fear, and sense of alienation which anyone who bothers to look can find in the nation's urban slums and its forlorn small towns. It has its terrible last chapters in narcotics addiction and the high rate of mental illness among the poor, its daily tragedies in un-

These photographs by Morton Engleburg were made last summer during a six-week pilot project at the University of Pennsylvania. A dozen staffers, below, filling the roles of future VISTA volunteers, led 100 young men from the streets of Philadelphia in morning classes in remedial reading, mathematics and discussions of current events, and worked with them at off-campus sites in the afternoons. Two of the projects were painting some deserted row houses and building a park with railroad ties.



relieved boredom, unused talent, and vanished hope. The poor who are proud have a pride that has withstood incredible trials. It is not an easy experience to have to send children to school too hungry to learn. And for the thousands of children growing up in the streets with latch-keys around their necks, what meaning can school have in a setting so divorced from middle class niceties that no one owns a book, or against the larger reality of a father who went away?

The trenches in the war on poverty will have to be dug where this kind of waste is taking its toll. The Peace Corps has set an illuminating precedent. It is no romantic notion to envision an army of the same kind of fortunate young now bringing their gifts of education down American back-country roads, or to a health clinic in an Arizona Indian village, or into a slum schoolhouse lighted after dark for parents learning at last to read and write. Far from a romantic notion, it is an essential and exciting application of talent in a compassionate national cause.

Some 2,000 men and women, most of them between eighteen and thirty and some straight from junior college, have already applied as VISTA volunteers. Before the end of 1965, close to 5,000 VISTA volunteers will be serving in the war on poverty, living in the communities which have requested their help.

Their efforts to help solve the unsolved problems of democracy promises to be an enlightening experience in practical social action. VISTA will train them for four to six weeks, largely under college and university auspices, in the causes of poverty and the methods for applying their skills to specific environments. The training will include a supervised

field experience at the elbow of teachers, social workers, health personnel, and community officials. Those who successfully finish their training will spend a year in any of a multitude of roles: as workers in the children's day-care centers of migrant labor communities; as tutors, counselor's aides, and recreation leaders in Job Corps camps for disadvantaged youth; as live-in, tenant-education workers in public housing projects; as casework aides in social agencies; as playground workers, homemaker and employment service aides, and youth development leaders in every part of the land.

VISTA, which accepts volunteers from the ages of eighteen to eighty, pays living and incidental expenses, covers health and dental care, and at the end of the term of service compensates workers with reimbursement of $50 for every month of service. Junior college students and faculty are invited to apply to VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. 20506.

Few people who worked in the Peace Corps will ever forget the experience of having substantially changed another human being's life. The real compensation for VISTA volunteers will be the same sense of having shared, to whatever small degree, in altering someone's view of himself and his future—of helping to restore hope to the nation's forgotten people, the poor.

DISCOVERY IN THE BRONX

The College Discovery Program In New York Shows What Our Colleges Can Do for the Disadvantaged

By Rachel D. Wilkinson

You know that an effort such as the College Discovery Program has reached first base when college students come to you and make comments such as:

"The teachers are wonderful."

"I always feel that I have someone to talk to."

"I never felt like participating in class before."

"As a required assignment I made my first trip to a museum, and I learned so much that I return whenever I can."

"My teachers are interested in me."

These were 1964 high school graduates who were admitted to the College Discovery Program at the Bronx Community College during the summer of 1964 as "special matriculants" in baccalaureate-centered programs under a special arrangement made by City University of New York in cooperation with the Board of Education of New York City. The new program provided for 250 high school graduates to be admitted to two of the institutions of City University—Bronx Community College and Queensborough Community College—each taking one-half of the students.

The students were nominated by high school guidance counselors and principals, and were screened by a steering committee composed of representatives from City University and the Board of Education of New York City. The criteria for selection of the students included evidence of qualities of leadership, creative ability, and potential ability to do college work. Only those nominees whose family incomes were $6,000 or less were included.

The College Discovery Program, an experimental program for disadvantaged high school graduates, is expected to operate at least five years. Funds were allotted by the New York State Legislature to cover the two centers and the research for the program. The amount allocated for the first year was $500,000 with $100,000 for research by the Social Dynamics Research Institute of City College and $200,000 for each of the participating colleges.

The purpose of the College Discovery Program is to provide the opportunity of a college education for those young people who might not otherwise have been admitted to a college. Guidelines for the

program were established by the steering committee; however, each college has the power to implement the program as it sees fit, but within the framework established by the steering committee.

The program is administered through the chancellor's office of City University with a coordinator at each of the two community colleges. In addition, the Bronx Community College has an advisory committee, composed of the deans of the college, which meets regularly with the coordinator.

The Social Dynamics Research Institute will study the progress of the students for the five-year period to determine the success achieved by the students and the program and implications for future programs.

Features of the Program

An overall view of the College Discovery Program at the Bronx Community College presents these unique features:

1. The students were admitted as "special matriculants" in the liberal arts transfer curriculum.
2. The anonymity of the students is protected. They are distributed throughout classes.
3. An intensive counseling system is a basic part of the program with a ratio of one counselor for every fifty students.
4. The standards of the college with regard to grades, courses, and other requirements are maintained.
5. The students receive free tuition and free books.
6. Financial assistance is available in the form of loans, campus jobs, and weekly stipends to cover lunch and carfare.
7. The students are urged to take daytime courses exclusively which provides an opportunity of associating with full-time students and greater participation in college life.

Students in the College Discovery Program were required, as a condition of their acceptance, to agree to attend the six-week summer session immediately after admission in May, 1964.

The summer program for the 120 students who registered at the Bronx Community College consisted mainly of remedial course work, counseling, and testing.

Prior to the beginning of classes, the students were required to take the freshman placement examinations which were required of all freshmen taking the liberal arts curriculum: modern languages (French, German, Spanish), English (reading and composition), and mathematics.

Based upon the results of these tests, the assignment of students was made to the two courses in reading improvement and remedial mathematics. A few were assigned to take regular freshman courses such as English composition, modern language, survey of mathematics, and history of civilization, if their placement examination results warranted it.

A major emphasis during the summer was counseling, and individual and group sessions were held. The individual conferences were held to review with the student his needs and his plans for overcoming weaknesses. A folder was built up for each student and records of each interview were kept. In addition, excessive absence reports and any problems referred by instructors were followed-up with an interview. The students felt free to come in for conferences on problems of a personal nature, including their academic adjustment, home life, social problems, and vocational plans. Group orientation sessions were held for the entire group, and small group sessions were held in order to present general information and to clear up questions and problems confronting the students.

A study center was set up for two afternoons per week with instructors available to provide tutoring and assistance with study skills. Most of the assistance requested was in the area of mathematics.

Individual and group tests were administered by the Social Dynamics Research Institute.

Fall and Spring Program

The emphasis on counseling was continued during the year with the same ratio of students per counselor as for the summer—fifty to one. In addition, monthly group meetings were held to discuss common problems and to present information of general concern.

Two meetings for the parents were held at the college, one in the fall and one in the spring. The purpose of the meetings was to interpret the program to the parents and to encourage greater understanding and cooperation. These contacts increased the effectiveness of the counseling. One result is that many parents have requested conferences to seek assistance with home problems in-

Rachel D. Wilkinson, coordinator of the College Discovery Program, chats with guests at a recent parents' meeting.

volving the students. Further, better intrafamily understanding has resulted and detrimental, parental pressures on the youngsters have been lessened.

Tutoring was arranged for small groups of five or six students.

During the fall, thirteen students were continued in the reading improvement course, eight were enrolled in the speech clinic, and vision screening was available for all the students. These special provisions were not continued in the spring.

The students were given the opportunity during both semesters to attend, free of charge, the events in the regular college cultural series.

Of the 120 students who registered in the program for the summer of 1964, 112 registered for the 1965 fall term, and 104 registered for the 1965 spring term. More than half of the students are males (69 per cent). Over 60 per cent of the students are Negroes or Puerto Ricans. Although 67 per cent of the group were born in New York State, a foreign language is spoken in one-third of the homes. Most of the students come from large families, but one-third are living in broken homes, and in the majority of the cases, the student is the only member of the family to attend college.

The students were admitted from academic, vocational, public, and private high schools from all boroughs of New York City. A few were admitted without the mathematics and language requirements for a liberal arts curriculum.

The diversity of the population of the group is further shown in that the high school averages ranged from 63 to 89, and the range in I.Q.'s was from 69 to 135.

These factors indicate it would be expected that some of the students would encounter academic problems. Two other problems severely handicap the students: one is the need for financial assistance, and the other is the presence of problems related to family and home life.

Academic Progress

The students have been advised to carry a limited program and have been warned that they should not expect to complete the requirements for the associate in arts degree within two years. However, 14 per cent carried the full credit load in the fall, and 18 per cent did so in the spring.

The distribution of grades for both fall and spring shows that the students performed much better in the area of mathematics than in the courses which require language skills. History led the list of subjects causing the greatest difficulty during the fall, with English ranking next. The greatest difficulties during the spring were in French, sciences, English, and history, in that order. The department heads report that the distribution of grades in all subjects for these students approaches the normal curve for freshmen students.

The students in the program are highly motivated, hard working, serious young people, and enthusiastic about being accepted in the program with the opportunity of a college education. As the first school year drew to a close it was apparent that the students were becoming more and more involved in the student-life of the college. They had joined clubs, participated on athletic teams, attended college functions, and contributed to college drives.

Summary

The College Discovery Program, at the close of one year, has been a learning experience for all involved: students, counselors, teachers, and administrators. The first year points to a need for:

1. Continued intensive counseling
2. Continuation of requirement of limited programs
3. More financial assistance for the students
4. Greater emphasis on learning how to study
5. Continued use of tutors for those who need additional assistance
6. Continued awareness by the faculty of student needs; counselors and the coordinator should work closely with instructors
7. Continued cooperation of all members of the institution, the students, and their families.

The student in the College Discovery Program is in a special category and has special needs. Our early experience indicates that the student's academic progress is more satisfactory when these needs are met.

The College Discovery Program at the Bronx Community College is designed to demonstrate what higher education, and especially the community college, can do to meet the needs of the disadvantaged in our population.

The success of the program is indicated in the fact that eighty-eight students in the College Discovery Program at the Bronx Community College attended the 1965 summer session.

It should also be noted that City University of New York extended the College Discovery Program into three more of its community colleges beginning with the 1965 summer session. The colleges now in the program, in addition to Bronx Community College and Queensborough Community College, are New York City Community College, Kingsborough Community College, and Manhattan Community College.

We at the Bronx Community College share the feeling that all in higher education must cooperate to save these young people for society. It is a challenge, and we have accepted it.

Identification and Diagnosis of Disadvantaged Students

By Johnnie R. Clarke and Rose Mary Ammons

"This study represented only the first phase of an overall program designed to raise the level of competency of the disadvantaged student at the junior college. The broad program shall attempt to lead to the growth of social and intellectual skills in the student's identification of his needs and goals."

The necessity for providing adequate and effective programs for its diverse student population is among the most pressing problems presently facing the community junior college. Experience shows that for many students, the open-door admission has merely become a revolving door. Attempts to meet the needs of these students in terms of curriculum revisions or innovations have been too few and too ineffective. When such students fail in the traditional programs, they usually are advised to enroll in remedial courses or vocational programs. In other cases, this advice is given at the time of admission. In the latter instances, the bases for the recommendations have been test scores or other predictive measures whose validities have not been tested for the junior college population. Therefore, two areas which demand immediate study are the identification of junior college students in need of special types of programs and the bases upon which these programs should be developed.

This study represents only the first phase of an overall program designed to raise the level of competency of the disadvantaged student at the junior college. The broad program shall attempt to lead to the growth of social and intellectual skills in the student's identification of his needs and goals.

The specific and immediate purposes of the study were:

1. To develop some techniques for identification of the disadvantaged students by utilizing measures of academic skills, personal values, and self-concept
2. To develop some clearly defined procedures for analyzing specific problem areas related to academic achievement
3. To arrive at some conclusions which can serve as a basis for further validation and for the development of special curriculums for the disadvantaged student at the junior college.

Methods

The group studied was composed of "first time-in-college" graduates of Florida high schools who entered St. Petersburg Junior College, Florida, in August 1967. Distribution by race and sex was as follows: 37 Negro males, 48 Negro females, 923 white males, and 683 white females. The racial composition was comparable to that of the total student population of St. Petersburg Junior College. The sex composition of the total student population by race could not be determined.

The instruments used for gathering data measured areas of both the cognitive and affective domains. The cognitive instruments were chosen to determine the levels of academic achievement upon entering college, while the affective instruments were selected to determine the student's self-concept and value positions at that time. Scores on the instruments were related to the criterion, defined as the degree of success in the college, measured by grade-point average at the completion of the first semester of study.

The instruments were administered to all of the students in the study before or during the registration period for the fall semester. Two test batteries measuring academic skills had been administered prior to enrollment. Three other tests, all concerned with the affective domain, were administered to each student during registration. The instruments were:

1. *The Florida Twelfth Grade Statewide Testing Program* (Florida 12th Grade): This includes measures indicating achievement level in General Aptitude, English, Social Studies, Natural Science, and Mathematics. A total score is also reported.
2. *School and College Ability Test* (SCAT): This reports Linguistic and Quantitative subscores and a total score.
3. *How I See Myself* (HISM): This is a self-concept scale yielding attitude scores on eight factors: Teacher-School, Physical Appearance, Interpersonal Adequacy, Autonomy, Physical Adequacy, Emotional, Boy-Social, and Girl-Social.
4. *Social Reaction Inventory* (SRI): This yields a single raw score which indicates locus of control as perceived by the examinee.
5. *Study of Values* (AVL): This indicates the relative strength of a student's values in the following areas: Theoretical, Economic, Aesthetic, Social, Political, Religious. Raw scores are reported.

The five instruments, therefore, yielded twenty-five predictive variables, only nine of which were cognitive in nature. The criterion—first-semester grade-point average—included all credit courses taken by the student.

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations were computed for all variables. Step-wise multiple regression was then applied to determine the optimal combination and weighting of predictors, with the increment in predictive efficiency at each step tested by analysis of variance. The analysis* was carried out using the BMD 02R Program (3) separately for each of the four subgroups of sex and race. Because of the small number of Negro subjects, the analysis was terminated after eight steps for these subgroups, but the analysis was permitted to complete twelve steps for the white subgroups.

The results of the study are illustrated statistically by the following equations, which represent

* Analysis was conducted by the Computing Center, University of Florida, under the supervision of Robert Soar.

the computation of college first-semester GPA by the optimum weighting of the best combination of predictors*:

White Males:

GPA = −3.03577 +.00129 × 12th Grade Total +.01105 × SCAT Total + .04259 × Teacher-School

Negro Males:

GPA = −1.02317 + .06673 × Autonomy

White Females:

GPA = −5.14075 + .00129 × 12th Grade Total + .02050 × SCAT Total + .0271 × Teacher-School

Negro Females:

GPA = −8.68019 + .03949 × SCAT Linguistic −.05974 × Teacher-School −.03365 × AVL Economic + .04413 × AVL Sociology

The variables included in the regression equations were the best discriminators between the advantaged and disadvantaged students. The operational definition of "academically disadvantaged" would be those students whose predicted GPA from the appropriate equation falls below 2.0 (C average).

Discussion

Since the number of Negroes is so small (85 out of a total of 1,691), interpretation of the data concerning them must be considered inconclusive.

Analysis of the data from the cognitive instruments shows that the SCAT totals and the 12th Grade Battery totals are significant predictors of academic success for white males and females. For the Negro students, the linguistic section of the SCAT proved to be significant for the success of females only, while none of the cognitive measures proved to be significant for Negro males.

Cognitive data were expected to be significant factors in predicting success for all four subgroups. Their failure as predictors for Negro males was quite surprising. However, much has been written concerning the inability of traditional achievement tests to predict the success of Negro students.

It appears that the SCAT total and the 12th Grade Battery total tap the same cognitive skills for white students of both sexes, but seem ineffective for Negroes. This may be due to the fact that most achievement tests measure the knowledge and skills deemed important by the white middle class and perpetuated through the school.

Analysis of the nonintellective or affective data shows that academic achievement of the four subgroups was related to these measures. For the white male, perception of his relationship with teachers and of his involvement in the school environment as measured by the teacher-school factor of HISM relates significantly (at the .01 level of significance) to academic achievement. Analysis of Table 1 shows that the prediction of success of white males has a heavy affective component (five of eight significant variables). It appears that not

* Not all significant predictors are included. In some cases a predictor made a significant increment when the increase in multiple regression was less than .01 so that only the number of predictors which seem both statistically significant and practically important are included.

TABLE I

MULTIPLE CORRELATION TABLES
SHOWING THE ORDER IN WHICH THE PREDICTOR ENTERED THE SEPARATE EQUATIONS

White males N=923	Mult. r	*Negro males* N=37	Mult. r	*White females* N=683	Mult. r	*Negro females* N=48	Mult. r
12th Grade Total	.319**	Autonomy	.424**	SCAT Total	.411**	SCAT Linguistic	.383**
Teacher-School	.363**	SRI	.477	12th Grade Total	.439**	AVL Social	.488*
SCAT Total	.397**	Emotions	.505	Teacher-School	.453**	AVL Economic	.560*
Girl Social	.409**	AVL Political	.520	Autonomy	.457	Teacher-School	.624*
12th Grade Aptitude	.416**	Boy-Social	.542	Interpersonal Adequacy	.460	AVL Political	.647
Emotions	.422*	Physical Adequacy	.558	12th Grade Natural Science	.462	Girl-Social	.669
Academic Adequacy	.428*	Teacher-School	.575	12th Grade Aptitude	.465	Physical Adequacy	.697
AVL Religious	.431	Interpersonal Adequacy	.590	Emotions	.467	Interpersonal Adequacy	.710
Boy-Social	.435			AVL Religious	.469		
AVL Theoretical	.438			AVL Political	.471		
Physical Adequacy	.439			Boy-Social	.473		
Autonomy	.439			Physical Adequacy	.473		

* = Increase significant at .05 level ** = Increase significant at .01 level

"The junior college curriculum should include provisions for developing special programs for disadvantaged students based upon their special needs in the areas of the cognitive and affective domains."

only do more variables significantly influence the white males' academic achievement but also that these variables are a combination of affect and cognition to a greater extent than in any other subgroup.

In the case of white females, the only affective factor significantly influencing achievement was the Teacher-School factor of HISM. For her, it would seem that the cognitive predictors alone are almost sufficient. The contribution of Teacher-School of the HISM, although statistically significant, contributes minimally to the predictive battery. Other studies have indicated that the female is more predictable than the male. This study indicates that emotions do not influence her academic achievement in the same fashion as they influence her male counterpart.

It should be noted here that the white males scored higher than the white females on all cognitive measures and yet achieved a lower grade-point average. One explanation for this may be the fact that the white male's success is influenced by more affective factors than is that of the white female, and that these factors are those least likely to be positively influenced by the school.

The Negro male presented a pattern quite different from the other subgroups. Only one measure, the Autonomy factor of HISM, significantly influenced academic success. It appears that the Negro male's self-reports of his adequacy in the area of individual expressive activities relate to his academic performance. In an environment which allows the Negro male opportunities for developing competencies in such activities as the creative and performing arts and in the manipulation of things, it appears that he might develop strong feelings of autonomy. This, then, might influence greater academic achievement.

The Negro female appears more like the white subgroup in that both the cognitive and affective areas relate significantly to success. The academic success of the Negro female is significantly related to the social and economic factors of the Study of Values. In addition, as in the case of the white females, HISM Teacher-School contributes to the prediction equation. The practical aspects of living and its related altruism proved to be important to the achievement of this group though it did not show up for any of the other subgroups. This may be explained by the life-style of the Negro female which places value on the usefulness of knowledge and the reality of ideals. She places value on her relationship with other people, and much of her emphasis is upon how real or how practical are things and relationships.

Conclusions

The findings suggest that the assumptions of the study were probably well founded. Yet one should consider that the size of the Negro population in this study was small, and that the St. Petersburg Junior College student population may be somewhat atypical. The assumption that traditional tests of cognitive skills are not adequate predictors of success for all college students was supported. In the case of the males, the cognitive predictors alone would have given an inaccurate picture of academic achievement.

The assumption that attitudes toward self and toward one's environment are significant factors in school achievement was supported. The findings showed that the affective data were significant in each of the four subgroups. Although the data from the SRI did not prove to be significant in any of the groups and the data from the *Study of Values* was significant for only one group, factors from the HISM proved to be significant in each of the four subgroups. Elements of self-perception can be considered significant in the prediction of success for both Negro and white junior college freshmen.

"The junior college curriculum planners should place special emphasis upon developing teaching strategies to fit the needs of a diverse student population."

"Teaching strategies should take into consideration the need for developing positive feelings toward self and the environment—especially the school environment."

The assumption that a need exists for more adequate means of defining the disadvantaged student was supported by the results. The findings clearly indicate that any definition of academically disadvantaged students cannot be predicated on measures of cognition alone; rather, a more adequate predictor can be achieved with the addition of measures of self-concept. Therefore, if students are to be screened for special programs for the disadvantaged, the screening device should include measures of those affective factors which relate to his achievement. Further, any programs developed for the disadvantaged student at the junior college should take these affective aspects into consideration.

It seems that this study not only indicates that the junior college student population is a diversified group composed of four distinct subgroups, but that within these groups cognitive measures appear as a function of race and affective measures a function of sex.

Implications

Because of this division of the population into subgroups, it is necessary then for junior college personnel to note the implications for curriculum and instruction. Some of these are as follows:

1. The junior college curriculum should include provisions for developing special programs for disadvantaged students based upon their special needs in the areas of the cognitive and affective domains.
2. The junior college curriculum planners should place special emphasis upon developing teaching strategies to fit the needs of a diverse student population.
3. Teaching strategies should take into consideration the need for developing positive feelings toward self and the environment—especially the school environment.
4. Curriculum planning to fit the above recommendations would involve teacher-training with emphasis upon new and creative ways of teaching in the junior college.

It would seem that the life-styles of the junior college student may be different from that of other students. Scores on the SRI indicate that this group of students rated themselves higher on external control than other groups. Further, this group differed from high school students on all of the measures of the HISM except those associated with the body. If the life style of the junior college student is different from that of other students, then traditional testing and teaching procedures would not adequately meet his needs. Since it has been shown that the junior college student population is actually four subgroups with learnings styles seemingly unique to each group, it appears safe to say that the traditional methods of testing and teaching are not equally suitable for each group.

The way in which the junior college student perceives himself and perceives the school environment are basic essentials to which the curriculum planner should give special attention. Chances for academic success at junior colleges will most likely be enhanced by a shift in emphasis from content-centered instruction to student-centered instruction.

It can be concluded that junior college curriculum planners should give special attention to the self-concept in developing testing programs, curriculum designs, and instruction strategies. This seems especially important since it appears that the junior college population is actually composed of four distinct groups with special needs unique to each group.

Further, it is of primary concern that screening programs or diagnostic programs give special attention to the affective area since it figures importantly in academic achievement. The identification of the disadvantaged student at the junior college cannot be conclusive unless affective measures represent a part of the predictive scheme.

"Curriculum planning to fit the above recommendations would involve teacher-training with emphasis upon new and creative ways of teaching in the junior college."

B.E.O.O.P. = Learning

Twenty-five Capable but Undereducated Indians Take Their Places in the Work World

By Curtis C. MacDonald

In February 1969, on the reservation of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, Oregon, a program designed to assist twenty-five capable but undereducated individuals to take their places in the world of work went into operation. The objectives of this training were:

1. To improve competency in basic communication skills
2. To furnish occupational orientation
3. To provide individual and group counseling
4. To develop some insight into economic matters.

The success of the Basic Education and Occupational Orientation Program, operating under Section 241 of the Manpower Development Training Administration, was primarily the result of excellent cooperation among a large number of agencies, institutions, and individuals. Full support was given by the Tribal Council of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, which also provided space and some financial assistance. The Oregon State Employment Service in Bend was instrumental in processing the necessary papers, interviewing prospective enrollees, and actively participating in the occupational information portion of the program. The M.D.T.A. provided the bulk of the educational funds, distributed through the Oregon State Department of Education, and the individual allowances, paid through the Oregon State Employment Service. The Bureau of Indian Affairs gave supervision, and various officers lent support and aid as needed. At the request of tribal members, the Baptist Church arranged for the services of its local mission minister as counselor. Central Oregon Community College in Bend was responsible for staffing, financial and budgetary control, supplying a consultant for the language arts, and overall administration. In addition to representatives of these groups, members of other state agencies, such as the Oregon Bureau of Labor, participated in the advisory council.

Success through Cooperation

The program's successes were achieved not only through these cooperating elements; exceptional contributions were also made by teachers, staff, and counselors who were well trained and had experience and interests which resulted in the development of vital empathy with the students. Additional help was received from the Oregon State Extension Service, and a number of local professional and business people participated in segments of the various classes.

This program was not an entirely new venture. For two years, the fifteen-week sessions had been held on the Central Oregon Community College campus at Bend. Because the students were removed some fifty-seven miles from their accustomed cultural environment and because the ties between the individual and the reservation are exceptionally close, a number of difficulties demanded solution. Among these was the temptation for participants to return to the reservation when family problems arose. Separated from their normal free-time environment, some of the enrollees became involved in activities which created discord within the local community and disrupted living arrangements. At the request of the Tribal Council and officers, and with the approval of the advisory council, the program was therefore moved to the reservation. Living there under more usual conditions, student attendance improved, and in only a few instances were there special problems which interfered markedly with participation.

Enrollees were selected from among those adult Indians who had dropped out of public school and who had need for further education. The Tribal Education Department, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Adult Education Department, and the Oregon State Employment Service worked together to publicize the program, to contact the people they felt would benefit most, and ultimately to decide upon those who would participate. Although the program was funded for twenty-five adults, three additional students asked to be added to this basic number even though they would not receive subsistence allowances. These three additional enrollees may have helped the attendance problem as the students decided that a participant who incurred more than an acceptable number of unexcused absences would be dropped from the program and that one of the three stand-by students would be substituted. In addition to this productive type of self-governance, students were encouraged through the efforts of the counselor to make their feelings about the program known, and much important "feed-back" was obtained.

Program structure and content were approved by the Advisory Council and supervised by the Adult

Warren R. Clements, director of education and recreation of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, Oregon, discusses Indian culture, psychology, and tribal law with the students two hours each week. Classrooms, counseling and secretarial office space, and a lounge were provided in a building owned by the Confederated Tribes, whose council contributed the installation of improved lighting and other basic changes necessary for maximum learning conditions.

Education Officer of the B.I.A., Marlin L. Reimer. With the aid of a reading consultant provided by Central Oregon Community College, Horst G. Taschow, the teachers developed a successful programed learning situation in language arts and mathematics, taught to all students for three hours each morning. The students—average age twenty-eight—showed considerable interest and motivation in these classes and would have liked to devote more time to them. Each afternoon there was a period for individual and group counseling which, according to the students, was a most important part of the training. Additionally, two hours a week were devoted to a consideration of Indian culture, psychology, and tribal law under the guidance of Warren R. (Rudy) Clements, the reservation's director of education and recreation. On two afternoons, attention was given to consumer education, and on the remaining three, students were exposed to occupational information. As the term progressed, the need for modification of the afternoon program in another year became apparent. Because of the number of people involved in the vocational opportunities and consumer education sessions, students sensed a fragmentation and felt they would have achieved more by concentrating on fewer points under the guidance of one or two instructors. A general staff review of this aspect concurred with student sentiment.

Classrooms, counseling and secretarial office space, and a lounge were provided in a well-constructed and well-maintained building owned by the Confederated Tribes, whose council contributed the installation of improved lighting and made other basic changes. In this new location, most of the educational equipment such as classrooms furniture, supplies, and audiovisual equipment had to be provided; since this was a program for unemployed adults, textbooks, workbooks, writing materials, etc., were furnished. Although there had been many weeks of planning, it was found that insufficient time had been allowed for delivery of supplies and equipment, necessitating a delay in the starting date.

Statistics

Of the twenty-eight individuals originally enrolled, seventeen completed the entire fifteen-week term. An additional three secured full-time employment, and one successfully completed the *General Education Development Test* prior to the end of the program. Compared to previous years, this represented better than a 50 per cent gain in actual completions, a situation which should continue to improve. Of the students who finished the program, eight successfully completed the *GED* tests; the one individual who did not do so failed only one of the five area tests and plans to repeat it at a later date. The teachers felt that still others would have been able to pass the examinations but lacked the necessary confidence to try at that time.

An unplanned but exceptionally important result of the program was the friendship that grew among the students. As the tribal education officer pointed out, most of these students previously had no particular role in tribal affairs, nor did they relate to any special group. By the end of the session, it was obvious that many, for the first time, had developed a sense of belonging or personal association with other members of the tribe.

Program Expansion

In the spring of 1969, based on the experience of three years, the advisory council approved plans for a program expanded to twenty-one weeks and containing some basic modifications which went into operation in November of that year. To reinforce communications skills and to offer a basic occupational skill, all students take a basic typing class. A building maintenance class has been established to attract and hold more male students. The women take a course in personal tourist services, concerned with motel and restaurant operation, housekeeping, food services, sewing, and other related experiences, which will be of value to those who seek employment in the Central Oregon Area. The Oregon State Employment Service is again participating in the training of students in proper procedures for securing employment. The language arts, mathematics, counseling, and cultural portions continue to be vital parts of the curriculum.

With an ever-increasing number of individuals from the Warm Springs Reservation who will have completed high school or the equivalent, preliminary research into the institution of vocational programs is now being done, and as funds, facilities, and demand merit, they will be offered. Through judicious financial planning, the confederation already offers several occupational opportunities on the reservation: It owns a wood products plant, has developed a well-patronized tourist resort facility to which a $5 million addition is currently being anticipated, operates some retail businesses, and is promoting a housing development. Tektronix, Inc., a large Oregon electronics firm, has recently established a small but successful assembly unit on the reservation.

The need for basic education for Warm Springs Reservation adults will continue for some time. It is hoped that as parents show interest in education by completing their own interrupted work, their children will be similarly motivated to secure as much training as may be available to them.

SUCCESS FOR MARGINAL STUDENTS

Macomb Tried Block Schedules for General Studies Students—Success Led to Success

By Sara Chalghian

In September 1965 an independent general studies program began at Macomb County Community College in Warren, Michigan. There was evidence to indicate that far too many students who entered Macomb, expecting to earn a degree and transfer, actually failed and dropped out before they had completed even one semester. Remediation in individual course areas had been tried and found to be unsuccessful in changing the failure pattern. To seek new ways for meeting the needs of these students formed the original rationale for the general studies program.

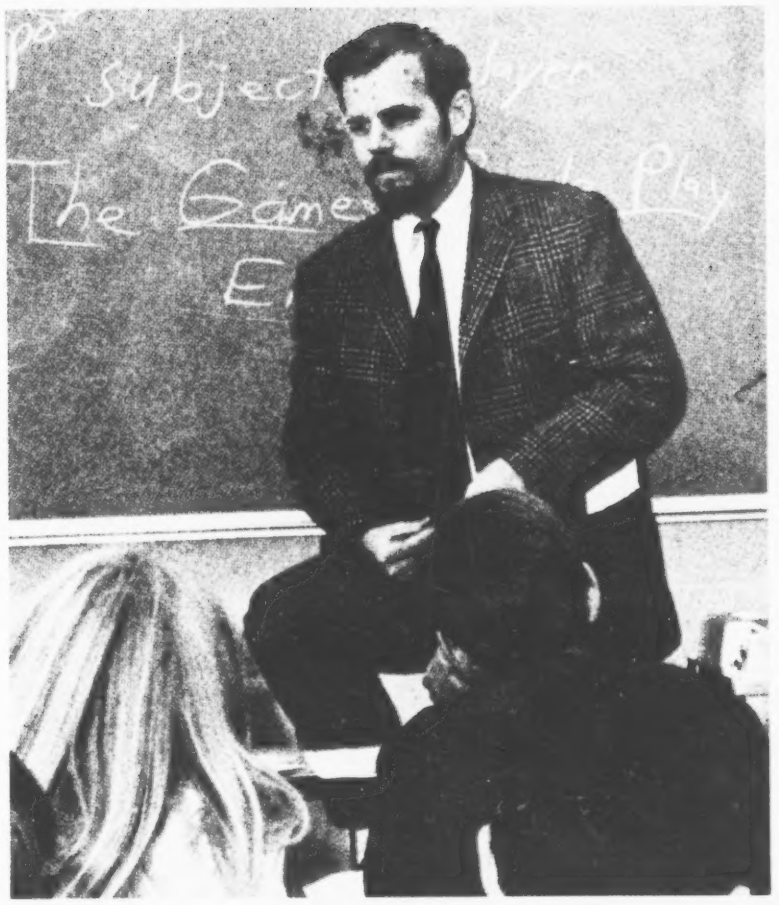
In fact, many of the problems that faced Macomb were almost exaggerations of those faced by any growing community college, and attempts on the part of a college to expand its efforts to meet the actual needs of the majority of students are essential. With this in mind, the planning committee[1] set out to devise an idea that could be translated into a working, college-level general studies program.

In fall 1965 a plan went into action, under the title of E.C.D., with fourteen instructors, one director, and three hundred and ninety-three students. Together they formed an autonomous unit, separate from the rest of the college. During the first semester, the program's separation was physical as well as organizational, for overcrowded conditions forced its location in a local church.

An ongoing evaluation of the program was one of the original directives—one which has been expanded over the past three years. Because of this commitment, the results of the program's efforts have been rather thoroughly detailed and analyzed. The original group of E.C.D. students was matched against a comparison group that entered the regular liberal arts program at Macomb at the same time. Much of the research on these two groups was supported by a small grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, although the greatest financial burden was borne by Macomb.

Owing to chance, the liberal arts comparison group was found to have significantly higher pre-college test scores than the E.C.D. (general studies) group. It would have been a certain measure of success if the E.C.D. students had simply achieved as much as those in the liberal arts comparison group. At the end of their first year (1965-1966), about two-thirds of the E.C.D. students had earned between twenty-five and thirty-three credits, but only about one-fourth of the other group had done as well.

The second-year measure of credits earned was, perhaps, even more revealing than the first. E.C.D. is a one-year program, and the students who stay at Macomb for their second year then must enter the regular liberal arts classes. There might be some basis for questioning just one year's performance in an experimental environment; yet the E.C.D.



students continued their lead throughout their second year. Almost one-fourth of the E.C.D. group compared to one-tenth of the liberal arts group had earned, at the end of the second year, fifty-five or more credits. As a result, when both groups were compared in terms of percents, three times as many E.C.D. students graduated from Macomb. If the successful E.C.D. students had achieved in the same way as their counterparts in liberal arts, they would have earned much lower grades and very few credits.

The community college student at Macomb anticipates that college will be a repeat of high school and expects that it should mesh with his already established schedule of work and friends. If it does not, the resulting strain may cause him to be a half dropout—a student who begins each semester with a full load of credits and ends each semester with half or less. This difference between expectation and actual accomplishment is a measure of failure. To avoid such failure, then, indicates a form of successful persistence not evident in a simple headcount.

To keep students in classes as well as in school is perhaps the first and most pressing problem that an experimental program faces. Some experimental programs have begun with only a small number of students—a solution to this problem of persistence. The E.C.D. program, however, began with almost 400 students, so any efforts at increasing persistence over that of the liberal arts comparison group had to be a part of the program's original structure. For this reason, and others, the program was set up so that the student was required to take a structured "block" of classes: communications, social science, humanities, natural science, and orientation. When each student registered, he picked the "block" which fit his preference. Some blocks of five classes were all scheduled during the morning hours, five days a week; some were during the middle of the day, four or five days a week; and some during the late afternoon. Signing up for a block of classes also meant that the twenty students who picked a particular block had all their classes together.

Block scheduling helped solve the persistence problem. Being part of a small, cohesive group of students made it harder for an individual student to just leave one or two courses; basic education students actually earned more credits in a shorter length of time than the students enrolled in separate liberal arts classes.

The small classes and resulting familiarity made it much more possible for an instructor to give personal attention to all his students. This individualized approach further encouraged the student to become involved and feel that he was part of an identifiable group.

The curriculum was planned so that the local community was used for a variety of projects and field trips whether they were cultural, political, scientific, or vocational. This kind of structure and involvement encouraged students and teachers to become well acquainted in a relatively short length of time. The student was also able to establish new friendships within his block. It was the program's goal to provide an educational environment which was so pervasive and intensive that the small number of hours students actually spent on campus would be very influential.

Another means used to assist students in becoming involved and committed to the basic education program was to have them actively particpate in evaluating their instructors, curriculum, and program. At the end of both semesters, the basic education students filled out anonymous evaluations. The results from the program and course evaluations were immediately tabulated and used to give direction to any revision and change.

College teachers can be like students in that they will often remain uninvolved. The whole push of the basic education program has been to provide a situation where it is almost impossible for any faculty member in the program to remain excluded from the ongoing activities, in and out of the classroom.

The block scheduling provided an advantage other than those previously mentioned. Because of block scheduling, a team of five or six instructors shared the same 120 students. This team met regularly to devise new and innovative means to integrate

their course content and plan community-related projects or trips.

When faculty can actually cross over course lines and plan together, many benefits accrue for the students. Tests, readings, written work, and projects can be shared by more than one class, and a pile-up of homework or tests can be avoided. Furthermore, a more realistic appraisal of a student's actual capabilities is more likely when there are several viewpoints. A social science instructor, for example, will not expect students to write a long, complicated answer to an essay test in the beginning week but will work with the communications instructor to devise writings that actually match those being done in the communications class. This kind of structure also makes it possible for courses to avoid the more traditional approaches to teaching content and opens up new areas of innovation each semester.

Therefore, the basic education instructor is responsible to his own course area, to his team, and to the whole division. He is likewise evaluated by his colleagues, his students, his division director, and himself. This interconnected web of responsibility resulted in a strong pressure of faculty. However, the accomplishments of the faculty in a short period of time gives some indication that such an environment can stimulate new and creative approaches to old educational problems.

Consistent Themes

When students were asked at the end of the second year to reflect on their first year of basic education or liberal arts, several consistent themes emerged. For example, a majority of students, both basic education and liberal arts, who had finished their second year of college indicated that at the beginning of college they "didn't think they could make it," but now "they are sure they can." Students who achieved some measure of success were somehow changed by the experience and felt more able to continue being successful. The grade patterns for both the liberal arts and E.C.D. groups gave further evidence to this idea. There were very few differences between grades for the first and second years. The liberal arts students began with higher precollege scores than the E.C.D. students, but both groups' second year performances were more related to their accomplishments during their first year than they were to precollege test scores. It would seem that it is the first year of college that actually influences succeeding years more than the preceding high school years. This gives encouragement to first-year programs.

One complaint often voiced by the community college student is that "college is just like high school." Obviously, if a student has done poorly in high school, what he does not want is a repeat performance; if he fails, college becomes just that.

Therefore, the E.C.D. program works to make its program innovative and experimental and sets as a goal the provision of early academic success for all students. The key to making the college experience different from high school is mainly in the area of success—whether this success is in discussions, on tests, or through involvement in community-related projects.

A side result of students achieving success is that their previously "unrealistic" vocational goals become realistic. One of the original objectives of the E.C.D. program was to assist students by redirecting their supposedly unrealistic vocational goals. However, as the second-year questionnaire demonstrated, most of the students who actually changed their vocational goals were those who had dropped out of college. When a student is achieving academic success, redirection becomes almost meaningless. Likewise, to work at vocational redirection is to assume that students "really can't make it." E.C.D. is geared to help students believe they really can make it in college; therefore, vocational redirection is no longer a program goal.

An aspect of the E.C.D. program that has, we believe, helped the program maintain its influence on students is its continued commitment to experimentation. However, to merely label a program as *experimental* only would have meaning to people outside the program but would have no influence on its most important members—the students. This is the reason that E.C.D. has made every attempt to build innovation and change right into the program itself. Each semester the instructors who share the same blocks plan their activities anew; there are no set guidelines for acceptable integrative projects. Each semester, after students evaluate the program, changes are made as the result of the evaluations. Using community resources and events also means that there will always be new course content. Constant, ongoing involvement of the faculty in curriculum planning and change encourages all staff members to experiment in creative teaching. The total environment is one of change and experimentation.

The conclusions from our first three years of operation have led the program into the area of student self-concept and self-fulfilling prophecy; this is becoming the new direction of the program. If a student is successful, is he directly influenced to become more successful? And if so, perhaps our experimental program can use these ideas to improve and change.

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[1] James Munro, chairman; Nancy Arnfield; Jeanne Trubey; Walter Bradley; and Charles Eisenman.

By Richard C. Richardson, Jr. and Paul A. Elsner

GENERAL EDUCATION for the DISADVANTAGED

Forest Park Community College in St. Louis Is Experimenting with A Special Curriculum for Educationally Disadvantaged Students

A distinguishing feature of the community junior college has been its open door admission policy. The popularization of higher education has resulted in an influx of marginal students who increasingly view the junior college as a logical extension of the secondary school. The junior college, consequently, is torn between the necessity of maintaining standards to guarantee the employability and transferability of its graduates, and the knowledge that it constitutes the last opportunity for formal education some of its students will ever have.

The problem of the marginal student is particularly acute in urban areas where poverty and de facto segregation generate discouraging numbers of educationally disadvantaged students who lack preparation for even the least rigorous technical programs offered by the junior college. Moreover, substantial numbers of these students fail to recognize their limitations and persist in enrolling in college transfer courses for status reasons to the mutual confoundment of themselves and their instructors.

Junior college educators have coined such phrases as the "revolving door" in criticizing existing programs for failing to meet the needs of from one-third to one-half of the total student population. The extremely high attrition rates, notably among those coming from lower socioeconomic groups, reported by Burton R. Clark (1960), and Dorothy M. Knoell (1963), tend to support such statements of program inadequacy. While there is a strong proclivity on the part of many in the field to assume that the experience of failing out or dropping out of college is beneficial, no satisfactory evidence has been advanced to support this somewhat euphemistic point of view. Rather, it is more probable that the most noteworthy achievement of current efforts to resolve the problem of the educationally disadvantaged has been to salve the institutional conscience while weeding out those who are unprepared.

Several basic directions may be observed among junior colleges attempting to meet the needs of the disadvantaged group. The first, and by far the most common, involves the piecemeal offering of remedial or developmental courses. The avowed purpose of such offerings is to repair deficiencies, notably in the areas of English and mathematics, so that stu-

dents may then enter college transfer and technical-level courses. Most frequently these courses are taught by instructors with no special training who view them as distasteful chores that detract from the professional status of both instructor and institution. The major achievement of developmental courses has been to produce a more homogeneous grouping in college transfer courses.

The fragmented remedial approach suffers from a number of serious weaknesses. Although homogeneous grouping may improve the quality of transfer education no one has seriously asserted that such an approach will permit junior colleges to accomplish in one semester what public schools have failed to attain in twelve years. It would be possible to criticize in considerable detail certain assumptions that underlie the offering of isolated developmental courses in the guise of meeting the needs of the disadvantaged student. Suffice it to say that while such courses may be helpful to those needing mildly remedial or refresher work, they fail utterly to meet the needs of the group with which this article is concerned.

A second, more ambitious, approach consists of the structuring of a unified program of remedial courses of one or two semesters in length. Augmented by intensive counseling efforts, remedial courses are generally offered in the areas of mathematics, English, and social science. Even where well-conceived and effectively administered, this approach, too, has certain limitations. By establishing as its objective the improvement of student capacities for doing college level work, it automatically dooms to failure as many as three of every four who enter the program. Further, these programs frequently offer the student only a single semester in which to demonstrate the capability for college work. Failure to do so results in disqualification. While such a program is not the ultimate answer to the problem of the disadvantaged, it represents a significant improvement over the previous approach. It does at least acknowledge the institutional responsibility for serving students who do not meet the aptitude and achievement requirements of other segments of the curriculum by offering them a realistic and unified program of course offerings and counseling.

A third avenue of attack is currently being pursued by a very limited number of community colleges, predominantly in major urban areas. Evolving from the remedial approach, the emphasis has shifted to a concept of terminal preparation for entrance into an occupation. This terminal-occupational emphasis appears far more realistic for most students who lack qualifications for entrance into standard course offering. Moreover, students demonstrating exceptional achievement may still be counseled into advanced work in the technical or transfer curriculum. The features of this program which appear to be particularly strong include:

1. The effort to have *only* volunteers teaching in the program
2. The inclusion of basic skills in reading and communication
3. The careful analysis of students' needs and capacities in light of program objectives

It should be added that interviews with faculty and students involved in this type of program have revealed a high degree of commitment and interest, a condition not generally evident in remedial or developmental courses of the kind described in the previous two programs.

Before concluding this discussion of current efforts to deal with the problems of the disadvantaged, a fourth approach deserves mention. The rapid development of programed learning materials has provided, for the first time, the opportunity for students lacking basic skills to acquire these through individual effort and at varying rates. While programed materials are not suggested as any type of panacea, their intelligent and selective use under carefully controlled conditions may well be a major part of the answer to the repair function of the junior college. The approach taken in North Carolina under the direction of Edward T. Brown deserves close scrutiny. If preliminary successes of the Fundamentals Learning Laboratories approach are confirmed by further studies, a major dimension could be added to the instructional program for disadvantaged learners at a reasonably modest expense.

Conclusions from Existing Practices

A careful analysis of existing programs of the type previously described appears to support these observations:

1. Remedial courses do not meet the needs of the educationally disadvantaged, a group that comprises one-third or more of the entering classes of many open door urban community colleges. As a corollary, selection for remedial type courses should be done as carefully as for the most demanding associate degree programs. If remedial courses are to have any chance of success, they must utilize specially trained instructors and cannot become the dumping grounds for a bewildering array of students not wanted in more academically respectable courses.
2. Technical and vocational courses most frequently do not attract the educationally disadvantaged student. Further, even if some method existed for directing disadvantaged students into these

areas, most would not be able to meet the minimum level of performance demanded by the program.

3. Open door colleges must and do practice selective admissions with respect to the programs that they offer. Students with serious educational disabilities cannot profit from demanding courses at the technical and transfer level. Their presence in such courses affects classroom progress and could constitute a deterrent to instructor morale.

4. The educationally disadvantaged student is coming to the open door community college in ever-increasing numbers. The recent trend toward increased college attendance by students falling below predetermined indexes of success criteria has probably resulted from (1) colleges and universities reaching into a wider range of social class structures for its students, (2) the need for higher level vocational and professional training on the part of an expanding future working force, and (3) the emerging of a more comprehensive strata of collegiate institutions, such as the public junior college.

More recently, belated consideration is being given to the ethics of using the community college as a one-semester sieve. It appears likely that disadvantaged students will be present at least one semester and in many instances a full year. The question, then, becomes not whether such students will be educated but rather how they can best be educated.

A New Approach

Forest Park Community College of the Junior College District of St. Louis-St. Louis County has devoted extensive study to the problem of the educationally disadvantaged. A faculty committee reviewing the results of the college program for the fall session, 1964, found that of a total on-campus enrollment of 1,510, academic difficulty was experienced by 691 or 46 per cent. A total of 278 students were placed on enforced withdrawal, 318 were placed on academic probation, ninety-five withdrew officially, while an additional eighty-five simply stopped coming. The faculty committee recommended that an experimental program be established to attempt to meet the needs of the disadvantaged student. Specifically, the committee spelled out the following goals:

1. Meeting the needs of students in the lower range of the ability spectrum.

2. Improving standards in transfer courses by removing students incapable of making a contribution or of achieving significant benefit.

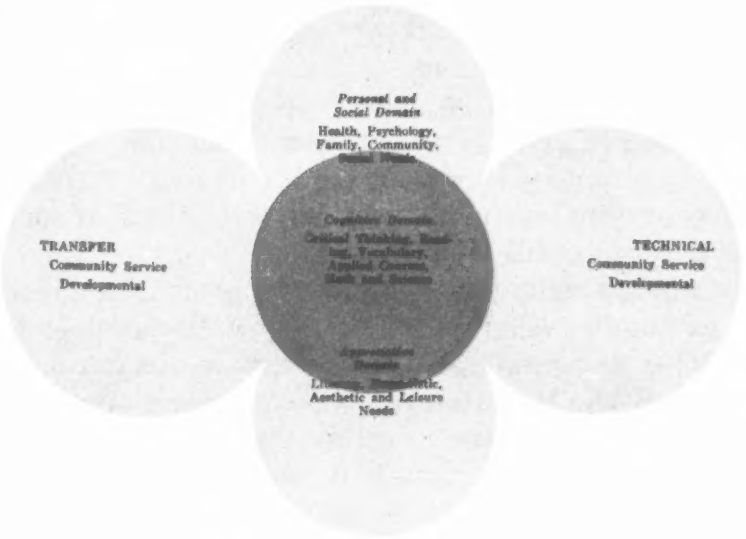
3. Providing educationally disadvantaged students with intensive counseling on an individual and group basis to: (a) minimize emotional factors inhibiting success; (b) aid students to assess realistically their potential and to relate this to vocational goals; and (c) identify students incapable of benefiting from any college program and refer them to community resources through accurate and complete knowledge of apprenticeship requirements, job openings, training courses such as those sponsored by the Manpower Development and Training Act, as well as other community resources.

4. Salvaging the academically able students from this group who might be upgraded to the point where they could be successful in regular technical or transfer programs.

It was not by accident that the salvage function of this program was placed last. The committee was determined that the program should be viewed as an end in and of itself, so that a student who never progressed beyond might nonetheless experience a feeling of success. Further, the committee determined that the emphasis of the program would be neither remedial nor vocational. Rather, an attempt would be made to structure a stimulating and challenging one-year program of general education on the students' level.

Since the salvage function was to be downgraded rather than excluded, some provision had to be made for providing students with the basic skills necessary for success in more demanding programs. The answer to this problem was found in the development of a programed materials learning laboratory patterned after the North Carolina approach. Programed materials and tutorial assistance would be provided in a learning center where the responsi-

FIGURE I:
GENERAL EDUCATION FOR THE EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED



bility for mastery of the materials would rest primarily with the student. This center would supplement the organized general education classes.

Concurrent with curriculum planning, intensive efforts were begun to study the characteristics of the student. Social workers, members of the Human Development Corporation, high school curriculum workers, and others met with the committee to convey the benefits of their experience.

It was agreed at an early point in the discussions that instructors must volunteer for the program and would have to be willing to accept full-time assignment.

Considerations in Planning

Students would be grouped in divisions of 100, to which a five-person team would be assigned. Each team was to consist of one counselor, a learning laboratory coordinator (reading specialist backgrounds), and three representatives of academic divisions. The basic approach would involve an attempt to create a core curriculum organized around the social science area. In general, these considerations were central to planning the program:

1. A curriculum for the educationally disadvantaged should be concerned with the broader development of the person—this development would include his personal and emotional well-being as well as his intellectual development.

2. The program should assist the student in coping with his environment—his more immediate pressures would come from his academic environment but his ability to adjust to pressures of collegiate life would take on greater implication for total personal development as a citizen.

3. The program should not be delineated in terms of a specific curriculum or in terms of logically arranged course content; the courses should be wider in scope, less fixed—their content should be drawn from many more facets of human problems and they should emphasize the individual student's needs.

The model presented in Figure 1 suggests the areas from which the general education content of the program was drawn. It provides also some idea of how the program relates to traditional curriculum patterns.

While students would take their course offerings as a part of a special group, every attempt would be made to include them in other activities common to the college experience. They would be permitted to enroll in standard physical education courses or sing in the college chorus. The entire range of student activities would be open and they would be encouraged to participate. By such attempts it was hoped that any negative concomitants of enrollment in a special program might be minimized. It was assumed that the above provision would assist the educationally disadvantaged student in widening his social radius, in exploring other possible enriching relationships with students, and in modifying his own self-concept as he related to and became accepted by others.

A Possible Trend

The program described in this article was implemented in September, 1965. While it is still too soon to evaluate results, it should be noted that along with preparations for implementing the program went equally detailed efforts concerning methods of evaluation. It was obvious that the once-accepted criterion of success, admission to the college transfer program, would have to be shelved. No particular emphasis could be placed on keeping people in the program. If it were possible to counsel a student into an excellent job opportunity in March, why should the college regard his failure to complete the program as an indication of weakness in the program? Certainly all those entering the program had to be carefully followed up.

It is possible that this program, while differing radically from those common to most junior colleges, may represent a trend of thought that will become increasingly evident in the next few years. There is evidence that other community colleges across the nation are becoming ever more cognizant of the need for a new approach to coping with the problems of the disadvantaged. Previous attempts have left much to be desired. The time has come for community colleges to take a long hard look at the education of the disadvantaged.

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BLACK POWER AND THE INSTRUCTIONAL COUNCIL

The Development of an Afro-American Studies Curriculum

By Doris A. Meek

In the fall of 1964 Merritt College, one of the Peralta Colleges, located in Oakland, California, initiated a history course, "The Negro in America" —the first course in the development of a new Afro-American Studies program.

Enrollment and interest in The Negro in America, as well as the extent of the content, required the development of the course into a two-semester course by the spring semester. Specialists in the field of Afro-American Studies, both black and white, were recruited to teach the courses in the day and evening programs. Five to seven sections of thirty-five students each were enrolled and provided the impetus for the student concerns as well as faculty interest in increasing the offerings in the Afro-American Studies areas. Another new course, African Civilization, History 58A-58B, was approved in the fall of 1965 and History 58A was first offered in the spring of 1966.

In December 1966, the Soul Students Advisory Council, a group of black students on campus, presented a proposal to the Instructional Council of Merritt College (department chairmen, student personnel, faculty senate, and student body representatives) as follows:

"In order to uplift the consciousness of Black people at Merritt College we of Soul Students Advisory Council realize that it will take a complete physical, mental, educational, political, spiritual, social and economic upheaval of the Black men.

"We feel that we are doing our small part in this upheaval here in the Oakland-Berkeley ghetto area. Through classes, lectures, meetings, programs and other activities we have made our Black community one of the most politically aware in the nation."

The proposal incorporated the idea of the need to correct the wrongs of the past 400 years and to institute a more extensive reading program.

The Language Arts Department had been working on their curriculum pending the quarter conversion, and in March 1967 proposed a tripartite division of their remedial language arts program: reading workshop, speech improvement, and composition. The curriculum changes, while unrelated to the requirements of the Afro-American Studies major per se, served to demonstrate a response to the concern of the Soul Students Advisory Council who felt that "the soul students have the wisdom to know the difference between getting an education and getting jived." The administration and the faculty also recommended the employment of a second reading specialist to further develop the reading program.

On June 6, 1967, however, the Instructional Council tabled a proposal to offer two university-level courses in "African Civilization" and "The Negro in America," because of uncertainties regarding the course prerequisites and the clarification of the level of instruction proposed. The black students wanted the courses for partial fulfillment of their University of California breadth requirements for entrance with junior standing. (The 50 series courses—History 50 and 58A-58B—were acceptable for transfer only at designated state colleges.) A special presentation to the Curriculum Committee (a subcommittee of the Instructional Council) by both black and white instructors who taught Afro-American courses resulted in the Instructional Council reconvening for the purpose of reconsidering the issue.

The instructor of the present course, History 65A-65B-65C—The Negro in America, and one of the creators of the History 30A-30B-30C course, made the following presentation:

"He expressed disappointment in the position of the Instructional Council to table such an impor-

tant item indefinitely. He further stated that the question of prerequisites, two-track system, and the record of failures, seem to be irrelevant. There are students here now and who will be entering in the fall who desire such a course. It is unfair to block such an offering on the basis of the two-track system. This kind of a course should be made available to those students who are even thinking about going on to the University of California. In answer to the question regarding the difference between the two courses, he stated that the difference is in the approach to the courses—one being interpretive and the other noninterpretive. With the two courses, the instructor could be given the opportunity to reassign the students as necessary."

"The question of the identifying of students was raised and it was the consensus that both History 65A-65B-65C and History 30A-30B-30C should be offered at the same time and that mobility be provided between the courses." The course was approved as History 30A-30B-30C, Afro-American History, and in addition, the Instructional Council approved History 18A-18B-18C, African Civilization. (Later History 58A-58B was dropped from the schedule.)

At the June 12 Instructional Council meeting, representatives from the Soul Students Advisory Council were present in support of the proposed courses. A presentation was made by the Soul Students Advisory Council's faculty adviser in favor of the development of a black curriculum and an A.A. degree major in Afro-American Studies. The statement was made that the majority of black students felt that the present educational structure of most schools in the U.S. was not meeting the needs of black students, and that black students wanted an education that teaches the true history of Afro-Americans and their role in present-day society. The black students wanted an educational system that would give the black people a knowledge of self since it was stated that if a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else. As the adviser stated, "Uncle Tomism, tokenism, be-whiteism, and all the other self-destructivisms got the black students nothing. . . but you will listen to us and act in our best interest if we raise enough HELL. The black student is determined to get people aware of black consciousness by any means necessary. We are going to see to it that Merritt College becomes a representative community college by the institution of an interdepartmental, interdisciplinary, multitracked curriculum culminating with an A.A. degree with a major in Afro-American Studies." The proposed black curriculum follows:

Proposed
THE BLACK CURRICULUM

Department	*Course Title*
Anthropology	Introduction to Afro-American Anthropology
Business	Development of Black Businesses and Financial Institutions
Community Planning	Current Problems of Afro-Americans in Urban Communities
Drama	Introduction to the Black Theater
Economics	Current Economic Problems of Afro-Americans
Education	Education of Black Americans (Afro-Americans)
English	Contemporary Black Literature in the Ghetto Language
	Introduction to Black Prose and Poetry
	The Study of the Black Novel
Foreign Languages	Contemporary African Languages
History	The History of Black America
	The History of Afro-Americans
	United States History from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Home Economics	Introduction to the Preparation of Soul Food
Human Relations	Human Relations in the Black Community
Humanities	Arts and Ideas of Afro-American Culture
Journalism	Study of the Black Press
Law Enforcement	Black Perspectives of Law Enforcement
Music	Survey and History of Afro-American Music
Philosophy	Introduction to Current Black Philosophy
	Introduction to African Philosophy
Physical Education	Contemporary Afro-American Dance Techniques
Political Science	Political Problems of Black Americans
	American Government from a Black Perspective (This course would be used to satisfy the American Institutions requirement)
Psychology	Personal and Social Adjustment of Afro-Americans
Sociology	Social Origins of Black Nationalistic Behavior in America
	Social Problems of Black Americans
Supervision	Elements of Supervision for Black Americans

Members of the Instructional Council expressed their interest in the above proposal, and the dean

of instruction appointed a committee to work on the implementation of an Afro-American studies curriculum. The committee consisted of four department chairmen, five instructors, one counselor, one soul student representative, the student body president, and the coordinator of instruction, who was appointed chairman. Open committee meetings were held regularly throughout October and were attended by community representatives, as well as members of the student body—primarily the black students who were most interested in the outcomes of the committee's deliberations.

The Instructional Council on November 1 accepted the report from the Afro-American Studies Committee. The Afro-American studies major became a reality:

> The Afro-American Studies Committee, in accordance with the charge given by the Instructional Council, recommends the following:
>
> 1. That an Associate of Arts major be established in Afro-American Studies by June 1969. Thirty quarter units of work in courses related to the specific study of Afro-American topics will be required to fulfill the major requirements.
>
> 2. That by June 1968, provisions be made to award an Associate of Arts degree with a combined major, e.g.:
>
> a. Afro-American Studies plus Behavioral and/or Social Sciences
> b. Afro-American Studies plus Creative Arts
> c. Afro-American Studies plus Humanities and/or Language Arts.
>
> For each of these combined majors, 15 units of work in Afro-American Studies will be required and 15 units in courses within the discipline.
>
> 3. That departments be urged to establish courses relating to Afro-American topics in the following fields of study:
>
> a. Behavioral/Social Sciences: anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, psychology, sociology
> b. Creative Arts: art, drama, music
> c. Humanities/Language Arts: English, humanities, literature, foreign language, journalism, philosophy, speech.
>
> 4. That special consideration be given to the immediate establishment of courses in English, education, and art, to be offered winter quarter 1968.
>
> 5. That special consideration be given to the establishment of courses in Afro-American Studies that will fulfill the requirements of the State of California in American Institutions, Physical Education, and Health Education.
>
> 6. That the Afro-American Studies Committee continue to function, for the purpose of periodically reviewing the progress of the Afro-American Studies program. The committee will continue to serve as a channel for stimulating the extension of the program across disciplinary areas until the formation of an Afro-American Studies department by June 1969.
>
> 7. That a minimum of six full-time positions be made available by fall quarter 1968 for the program.
>
> 8. That provisions be made for offering courses in the program both during the day and evening, beginning winter quarter 1968.

Because of the budgetary implications of requesting six full-time faculty positions, the report was referred to the Budget Committee (of the Merritt Council) for inclusion on funding requests for 1968-1969.

The interdisciplinary curriculum approved by Instructional Council follows:

> An interdisciplinary curriculum culminating with an Associate in Arts degree with a major in Afro-American Studies.
>
> *Afro-American Studies Major Patterns*
>
> Afro-American Studies General (Minimum of 30 units)
>
> Afro-American Studies—Behavioral and/or Social Sciences (Minimum of 15 units of course work in the Behavioral and/or Social Sciences)
>
> Afro-American Studies—Creative Arts (Minimum of 15 units of Afro-American Studies and 15 units of course work in Creative Arts)
>
> Afro-American Studies—Humanities and/or Language Arts (minimum of 15 units of Afro-American Studies and 15 units of course work in the Humanities and/or Language Arts).

Departments were also meeting and developing curriculum proposals which were referred for preliminary approval of the Curriculum Committee and then to the Instructional Council. On November 1 the course English 48A-48B-48C—Afro-American Writers was approved by Instructional Council, and on December 5-6, Art 5—Survey of Afro-American Art and Education 5—Contemporary Education of Afro-Americans were also approved.

The Afro-American Studies Committee made its final recommendation by the end of February which was reported to the March meeting of Instructional Council. The report requested that a Department of Afro-American Studies be formed composed of those instructors currently teaching in the program;

that one of the counselors teaching in the program be made chairman; and that with the assistance of black students, the chairman would be responsible for the future development of the program and the selection of personnel. After considerable discussion Instructional Council made the recommendation:

> That the dean of instruction recommend to the president that an interim coordinator of Afro-American Studies be appointed effective April 1, 1968, through the end of the fall quarter 1968, by which time details of the permanent form of organization for the program will have been studied and decided.

According to the Instructional Council and the Dean of Instruction the duties of the coordinator will include:

1. Continuing the development of the Afro-American Studies Program
2. Working together with coordinators, department chairmen, and with present staff on problems of scheduling, articulation, etc.
3. Indentifying and recommending additional staff
4. Recommending a permanent form of organization and how it would fit in with the existing administrative structure.

The president of the college, upon recommendation of the four department chairmen concerned and the dean of instruction, appointed an instructor to teach Education 5 and Psychology 9; in addition, he was given a special curriculum assignment to work on the development of the Afro-American Studies curriculum. The same four department chairmen in whose departments the majority of the courses were being taught were appointed as a Faculty Advisory committee (the original Afro-American Studies Committee, having completed its duties as prescribed by the Instructional Council, was disbanded).

At the March meeting, the Instructional Council also approved the offering of Drama 21A-21B-21C—Afro-American Theatre: Theory of Acting and Production, and Psychology 9—Psychology of Afro-Americans.

On May 3, Elementary Swahili 1 was proposed by the Foreign Language Department and approved by Curriculum Committee and Instructional Council. On the basis of the proposals prepared by the instructor assigned to develop the Afro-American Studies program, the departments' review, and in some cases modification of these proposals, the Curriculum Committee and the Instructional Council approvals, Art 5A-5B-5C—Survey of African and Afro-American Art; Political Science 40—Africa: A Study in the Problems of Emerging Nations; and Sociology 9—Sociology of Afro-Americans, were scheduled for fall quarter offerings.

The courses developed by the Instructional Council follow:

Afro-American Studies Program

ART 5 Survey of Afro-American Art (3), fall, winter, spring, 3 hours weekly
ART 5A-5B-5C Survey of African and Afro-American Art (3-3-3), fall, winter, spring, 3 hours weekly
DRAMA 21A-21B-21C Afro-American Theater—Theory of Acting and Production (3-3-3), year sequence beginning fall quarter, 3 hours lecture, 2 hours laboratory
EDUCATION 5 Contemporary Education of Afro-Americans (4), fall, winter, spring, 4 hours weekly plus assigned observations
ENGLISH 48A-48B-48C Afro-American Writers (3), fall, winter, spring, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 18A-18B-18C African Civilization (3-3-3), year sequence beginning fall quarter, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 30A-30B-30C Afro-American History (3-3-3), year sequence beginning fall quarter, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 50 The Negro in America (3), fall, spring, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 50A-50B The Negro in America (3-3), fall, spring, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 58A-58B African Civilizations (3-3), fall, spring, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 58A-58B-58C African Civilization (3-3-3), year sequence beginning fall quarter, 3 hours weekly
HISTORY 65A-65B-65C The Negro in America (3-3-3), year sequence beginning fall quarter, 3 hours weekly
POLITICAL SCIENCE 40 Africa: A Study in the Problems of Emerging Nations (5), fall, 5 hours weekly
PSYCHOLOGY 9 Psychology of Afro-Americans (4), fall, winter, spring, 4 hours weekly
SOCIOLOGY 9 Sociology of Afro-Americans (4), fall, winter, spring, 4 hours weekly
SWAHILI 1 Elementary Swahili (5), fall, 5 hours weekly plus assignments in audiolaboratory

The program's enrollment had grown from 292 in 1964, to 885 in 1968. At the June 21 Merritt College commencement, the first five graduates with a major in Afro-American Studies received their A.A. degrees. Some of these students plan to continue their education in a neighboring state college which has recently, on the basis of its Black Student Union requests, instituted a Black Studies program; others are looking forward to state legislative action which will permit them to be employed as teacher assistants with a specialization in Afro-American Studies; and another is working with community groups to instill black pride through "black experience days."

Merritt College with an enrollment of 6,500 day students and 3,500 evening students, 40 per cent minority, looks forward to continued emphasis in Afro-American Studies with the recent appointment of the first Negro to a junior college presidency in the history of the junior college movement in the state of California.

ESCAPE FROM THE GHETTO AT WASHTENAW

A Michigan Community College Creates An Occupational Program in the Social Sciences For Ghetto Youth

By Robert H. Plummer

Why did John Monro, dean of Harvard College, resign at Cambridge to move to the Birmingham, Alabama, campus of Miles College, a primarily Negro institution? Dean Monro chose an "act of involvement" to help students survive and grow. Equally dramatic opportunities to exercise ingenuity in educating marginal manpower lie in the ghetto

areas of each community, awaiting contact by its community college.

Washtenaw Community College, in a county next door to Detroit, has a 22 per cent black enrollment and numerous Appalachian whites whose parents have been attracted to the area by the auto industry. Washtenaw's idea of a social science program to trigger the training of high-risk blacks and whites consists of internships combining controlled field experience and college. These are the students who have not had the opportunity for success in employment and higher education that is offered to the top 25 per cent who graduate from American high schools.

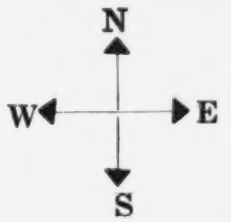
The Questions

Can an occupational program be developed out of the social sciences? Can career experience in the community be combined with applied general studies courses geared to develop human behavior, communication, and group dynamics skills? Can high-risk blacks and whites and other middle students be coached to take leadership roles as supervisors, foremen, and service managers? Can a more sophisticated manpower pool be created by having general studies courses that emphasize practical skill applications that can be used immediately in field experience? Can the community college be the catalyst to bring improved education and jobs into a winning coalition?

BOXING THE COMPASS

Industry involved as a laboratory

Goal-oriented for immediate reward of college degree and a career job



Needs for students for skills met by behavioral sciences

Esprit de corps of winning team improves self-concept

To the north, industry and business become involved as laboratories for the social sciences—a laboratory as broad as the resources of the community. Examples from field experience can be taken to class for analysis to stimulate the learning process. In reverse, the job offers reality testing for the ideas and skills developed in the classroom.

To the east, the social sciences and other general studies can furnish an occupational program that better meets the needs of the middle students as automation increases supervisory jobs. Students who may be less verbal than the liberal arts student, but who may have graphic, mechanical, creative, intuitive, or social abilities should be identified. These abilities amount to alternate modes of intelligence. The goal will be to change the educational experience from indoctrination to inquiry and discovery by firsthand experience in the field, and by laboratory and dialog experience in the classroom. Course work in the classroom should emphasize skills and how to motivate attitudinal change in the world of work rather than emphasizing knowledge per se.

To the south, the students would get immediate self-concept from being selected for special attention and assured success if they play the game. The coach would create an *esprit de corps* through triple counseling by having the student in class, in seminar as the coordinator with the employer, and as an advisee. The faculty, who would teach applications of social sciences, should have nonacademic experience and orientation related to their area. Provision should be built in to continuously broaden the experience of these lead teachers.

To the west, there is the motivation coming from the immediate goals of a career job and a college degree in two and one-half years. With completion of the degree, there should be assurance of securing a career job with future advancement in middle management. A large part of the course work should transfer so that a student might, at a later date, continue in college toward a four-year degree.

The Proposal

Plan I: Thirty students, black and white, will be selected and trained for a supervisory career in hospitals, city government, and industry during the day. Students will carry nine hours of college credit at night plus three hours of credit for field experience and seminar. Thus, in five semesters, a student will earn an associate degree and a career job. In the meantime he will work three-quarters of the time and his work experience will be related to academic work through a seminar.

Plan II: Area business and industry will send thirty black and white employees for night courses, nine credit hours plus three hours of work-experience seminar. The students would be production line workers who are motivated enough to improve their education and to train for supervisory careers.

Plan III: The above plans might be adapted for other students in the college as an occupational program for training supervisors through the social sciences.

Input 1 for plan I: Field experience, days, $1.82 to $2.80 per hour, such as:

Building service staff	Accounting clerk
Dietary staff	Facilities service
Financial clerk	Orderly

Junior interviewer	Business office clerk
Law enforcement trainee	Stock clerk
Assistant machine operator	Messenger
	Service unit clerk

Input 2 for plan I: College, 6:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m., three nights per week:

6—7 p.m.	Social sciences	Social sciences	
7—8:30 p.m.	Communication arts	Communication arts	Seminar and tutorial
8:30—10 p.m.	Applied sciences	Applied sciences	

12 credits × 5 semesters=associate degree and supervisory job

Results for plan I: Career jobs at end of two-year degree ($5,000 to $8,000 per year to start—possibility of doubling income):

Service unit supervisor	Facilities service supervisor
Assistant supervisor	Account supervisor
Police officer	Credit counselor
Claims interviewer	Financial interviewer
Food service supervisor	Senior accounting clerk
Inspector	Group leader

Obstacles to Escape from the Ghetto

The demands of a three-quarters work load (30 hours per week) and a three-quarters college load (12 credit hours) will require dedication and discipline on the part of the students beyond the average expectations of other students. To achieve this, the plan will use the following approaches:

1. Two coach-coordinators will have the students in seminars and in social science classes. The first two coaches picking up the challenge at Washtenaw are a social case worker with clinical and street-gang experience, and a job coordinator from a state experimental hospital. These coaches, in addition to teaching and counseling the students, will work with employers to gain their understanding and acceptance of what the program and the student is trying to accomplish. This continuing direct supervision is intended to result in an employer dedication to help, not just hire the student.

2. An *esprit de corps* will be created to get each student to succeed and to build his self-concept as a specially selected student for special opportunity and training. Team membership demands pride on the part of the participants.

3. Although all students on the team are starting players, they may get temporarily benched from the playing team. This does not mean the student is withdrawn from college—he may continue in school, but must show improvement to reenter the game. There is an almost inexhaustible pool of substitutes anxious to enter the program.

In addition to student motivation and self-discipline the plan will have to be alert to:

1. Not oversell students and employers who may look upon the program as a panacea

2. Employers wanting proved winners rather than joining in the development of winners

3. Students without social science interests who want to exploit the program for job possibilities.

4. The constant need to change the status quo, to dream and make the dream come true, and to go the second mile to help a student stay in the program.

TENTATIVE COURSES

Social Sciences (18)	*Communications (12)*	*Applied subjects (12)*
Industrial psychology 3	Composition 3	Mathematics 3
Social psychology 3 (to include group decision making and sensitivity training)	Speech 3	Accounting 6
	Literature of motivation and leadership 3	Principles of data processing 3
State and local government 3	Logic: Applications for business 3	(or other courses tailored to needs)
Psychology of adjustment 3	(or other courses tailored to needs)	
Urban geography 3		
Labor relations 3		
(or other courses tailored to needs of student or job)		

WORK EXPERIENCE

	Credit (12)	*Electives (6)*
Seminar:	Motivation building	Graphics 3
	Case study problems	Typing 3
	Special topics	Other
	Discussion of work experience	
	Counseling	

The plan may broaden the laboratory of learning to include continuous feedback from industry, business, and government, while increasing the level of responsibility that the middle-level students can carry in the tasks of industry, business, and government. It may also enhance the satisfaction with placement by both employer and employee as the two-year graduate of this program will already have established rapport with industry, business, or government.

The Players

Since it is about five times more difficult for a black student to get a career job than a white student the plan will operate on a ratio of five blacks to one white at the beginning. Candidates are preferably 19 years of age or over for two reasons. Upon graduation from the program, such candidates will be barely 21 years of age, which may be the minimum age for supervisory responsibilities. Also, students need a little maturity to know what they want—a year of "knocking around" after high school often helps. Ideal candidates are returning veterans whose readiness for such a program is maximal. The candidate must find a sponsoring company, though the college is helpful in referrals. The starting group of employers includes a large national manufacturer, a university, local hospitals, state and local civil service, and local banks. If the student is accepted for sponsorship and completes the program, he is assured of a career job with the company or agency upon graduation.

Students tested and needing developmental work in math or English, and/or whose work habits need developing, are hired for a semester warm-up by the college on a work-study program and may be enrolled in refresher courses to compensate for their not having finished high school. The adaptability of tailoring college courses to the needs of the student and the job may well be the key to success for the student.

The Coach

An attempt is being made in general studies to attract a more colorful and varied faculty to enliven the learning and teaching in a two-year college.

Innovative instructor coaches must be located who can relate their competence to society's needs and who have the ability to make this relevance clear to students.

The instructor becomes a coach or adviser on the sidelines. Through group techniques—role playing, case studies, field experience, game theory, etc.—students learn how to get people involved in planning, in participating in deciding their own fate, and in increasing their freedom and responsibility. The objective is for students to learn to communicate so clearly with the assistance of graphics, that listeners cannot say that they do not understand. As decisions are debureaucratized, and as students are involved in participation, things begin to happen.

The Game

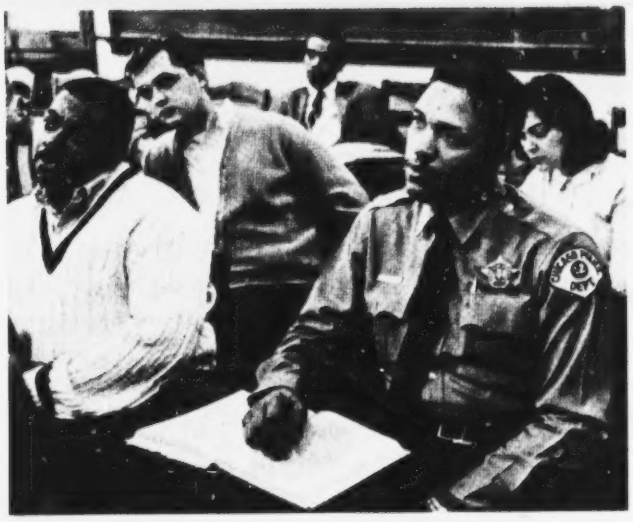
The service-oriented courses in the general studies curriculum should help students to know what learning is good for, what social utility it will have, and what they will be able to do as they master applications of the behavioral sciences, the communication arts, and the exact sciences. Can the student increasingly know what questions to ask and how to interpret the answers? Can the student organize his skills to size up a job and get it done? Or if the problem requires additional expertise, will the student have learned when, where, and how to get help?

The social sciences, humanities, and exact sciences may be one direction for more highly specialized and vocational education. The more rapidly society changes, the less we can rely upon specific vocational skills. John Dewey said thirty years ago that theoretical knowledge is the most practical. General principles from the general studies, if sound, can be applied in a wide variety of situations. The philosophy instructor at Washtenaw repairs his automobile with logic rather than with a wrench. Once introduced to the habit of critical standards of thought and action, the student can continue on a lifetime of learning and self-education. He can constantly adapt his destiny in our technological society.

Early Response Good

Can an intern program offer escape from the ghetto for black and white students? Normally, we would wait three years until graduation of the first experimental group before reporting whether the social sciences can trigger an "even break" for trapped individuals. But Washtenaw has hit a nerve in the first month of the plan's operation. Response already indicates a need to be satisfied. Washtenaw invites others to experiment so that the evaluation and adjustments three years from now will be more comprehensive.

Here is a new occupational program created out of posts as they occur or as they exist in the social science division. There is no starting cost or laboratory cost as the community is used as the laboratory. An acronym to summarize the proposal might be IMPACT (impelling manpower—practice and college together).



CHICAGO CITY COLLEGE: A CENTER FOR INNOVATION

An Urban Setting Provides Many Opportunities for Community Service

By Susan Koester

The major concern of the faculty and administration of Chicago City College is how to make the educational process relevant to the needs of community residents.

Because these needs are not only extremely diverse, but also in a constant state of change, the college has been involved with extensive experimentation and has become a center for innovation.

Programs for change involve both the physical environment in which the urban college student learns best and new educational methods and curriculums for its mushrooming student population, expected to reach 100,000 in the 1970's.

At present, Chicago City College has 36,000 students enrolled at eight campuses located throughout the city. Five new campuses are in the planning stage. Each will cost $25 million and will have an enrollment of 10,000 students. Construction of the first campus began on the west side in mid-December.

The proposed expansion of a sixth campus, a skyscraper in downtown Chicago, has been approved by the board which operates the college, and architects are now being sought.

To stimulate and direct innovation in the classroom, Chicago City College has established an "Innovations Center." Here, selected faculty members are given time away from teaching activities to develop new methods for better serving the two-year college student.

The center was established in February 1968 and to date has had thirty-four participants who have been investigating such areas as Afro-American studies, students and computers, new learning resource centers, interdisciplinary approaches for courses, and remedial learning methods.

Last September the center's participants, called "fellows," reported the progress of their activities to 300 faculty members at a one-day conference. The purpose of the day's session and workshops was to provide new insight to the faculty on how to present vital material to students and enhance their learning experiences.

Programs

Present innovative programs are moving rapidly from the theoretical stage to actuality. In the field of adult education, for example, the Crane campus, on Chicago's west side, has courses available to adults in storefront locations. Such courses as community organization leadership training; social dynamics of ghetto living; youth work aide; social service; Afro-American history, and many others are being offered at social agencies, churches, storefronts, and businesses in order to bring information and services to the people.

Remedial education is also being explored in several new programs. For example, the Urban Skills Academy of Chicago City College has been helping illiterate adults learn to read and write since March 1968. In just three months, adults with a reading ability at the third-grade level or below have improved their reading to the sixth-grade level or above, making them functionally literate.

The 100 students in the academy range in age from nineteen to seventy; twenty-nine graduated from the program with a reading level at the sixth grade or above.

The success of the academy is attributed to two unusual features. First, the students have highly individualized instruction. There are four master teachers who conduct classes and also supervise three program aides and forty volunteer tutors from the Chicago Women's Aid and Chicago-area high schools

and colleges. Second, there are weekly group therapy sessions for students which utilize Gestalt therapy, transactional analysis, and operant conditioning. The purpose of these sessions is to help students get over "hang-ups" which prevent them from reading.

Urban Education Center

Another remedial program which has proved to be a successful experiment is the Urban Education Center of Chicago City College. Now in its second year of operation, the experimental program is sponsored by the Wilson Campus in cooperation with Chicago's Roosevelt University. The major thesis is that low-achieving and underachieving high school graduates are more likely to succeed in college if they see their collegiate experience as a related life activity rather than as an obstacle to be overcome on the way to achieving social identity and mobility.

In the first phase of the program each of the seventy students enrolled must go through a well-planned, individualized reading program at the Roosevelt University Reading Institute. Even while the student is receiving individualized reading instruction, he is engaged in the second phase of the Urban Education Center program. This phase, if successfully completed, will reward the student with a maximum of eighteen hours of transferable college credit in English and literature, social science, and biology.

Because of the student's deficiencies in skills and content areas, the program provides him with concurrent and continuing tutorials and workshops with the eight teachers at the center. The student's active involvement in making decisions regarding course content, rules of the center, and extracurricular activities is required. For example, among the behavioral objectives of the program:

1. The student will demand that the instructor seek out instructional resources from the former's community.
2. The student will criticize the instructor's choice of material when he feels it is not relevant.
3. The student will suggest specific areas of material to be covered in class.

Occupational Education

In the field of occupational and technical education, three new programs are particularly outstanding. The Allied Health Program at the Crane Campus is designed to ease the shortage of hospital personnel. Since its beginning in September 1967, about 100 students have graduated from the twenty-eight week program which prepares students, many of whom have been on welfare, to join health teams as ward clerks, occupational therapy aides, community health workers, dental assistant aides, and a variety of other health occupations. Fourteen weeks of the program are spent in the classroom and the last fourteen weeks on the job. The program works with sixteen Chicago area hospitals which provide the clinical facilities for the students.

In addition, the Wilson campus of Chicago City College has developed a two-year associate of arts degree program in social service to help meet the manpower shortage in the field of social work. The program is planned to develop social service aides to work with professionally trained social workers in a number of settings. These include private casework and group-work agencies, public welfare, Office of Economic Opportunity programs, and mental health agencies. Graduates are qualified for jobs as family welfare aides, youth work aides, and community aides.

The Loop Campus of Chicago City College offers a Public Service Institute to recruit, train, and upgrade many city, county, state, and federal employees, including law enforcement personnel. Last year more than 1,500 persons were enrolled in the institute. Such courses as building rehabilitation for city inspectors, executive development for city administrators, civil technology, architecture, child development, preschool education, and data processing for welfare recipients are offered.

TV College

Since 1955, a focal point for innovation at Chicago City College has been TV College. In twelve years of operation, more than 100,000 students have registered for 150,000 credit and noncredit courses. These are telecast over Chicago's two education TV stations, WTTW (Channel 11) and WXXW (Channel 20).

As an extension of the college classroom, TV College has provided many persons with opportunities for higher education. Students include prison inmates, shut-ins, housewives, and many others who choose from courses offered in a variety of fields. Thus far, 150 students have earned the two-year associate of arts degree for work completed exclusively via TV College. Another 1,600 have completed a major part of their college work by enrolling in TV courses. Many courses have been made available to the Great Plains Instructional Television Library and are used by cities where educational television stations are in operation.

The excitement of innovative programs made possible by an urban setting has been reflected in the number of teaching applications Chicago City College has received—2,300 applications in the last two years.

PUTTING MUSCLE BEHIND THE REACH

Central YMCA Community College Establishes Inventive Youth Program

By Eleanore Selk

When the year's verbiage about ghetto youths' greater educational opportunity is matched against the actual increase of ghetto youth in today's college classrooms, the gap can embarrass any dean of admissions.

A long list of reasons can be offered—all valid. Few ghetto youth applied. Few recognized the possibilities open to them. Few met minimal standards. Few could afford the time. Few could afford the costs. Few could keep up with course demands. Few found the prize worth the pain.

At this moment of national awareness, however, every dean of admissions in the country is on the spot. College must provide opportunities to the most deprived youth in the nation. The pressures for admission come from every segment of our socially conscious, young population. Neither the thoughtful, stimulated, and privileged youth nor the angry, disadvantaged youth will accept excuses. Community colleges, traditionally open door, will be judged by how imaginatively they hold the door ajar for the black poor.

Central YMCA Community College, born in troubled Chicago only seven years ago, opened, as most colleges do, with a far lower percentage of inner-city youth among its students than any two-year college in an urban center should serve. Donald A. Canar, head of the college, was not content with the obvious. The community college should not only reflect the community, according to Dr. Canar, it should become the model of a good community. Working through YMCA youth action workers, welfare agencies, local YMCAs, club directors, and high school counselors, he instituted a recruitment drive in the inner city that has had national repercussions.

In recruiting, retaining, and educating high-risk students from the inner city, the college has been so inventive that in summer 1968 the U.S. Office of Education funded an assessment center and clearinghouse at the campus.

Known as SET-GO, the program builds upon the Central YMCA Community College experience. SET-GO's responsibility, in fact, is both to assess the potential of high-risk students for other colleges and to help other colleges recognize the kinds of safeguards that each student needs. The name is an acronym taken from "Support and Encouragement for Talent, Gateway to Opportunity." The vitality and assurance of the short name is in keeping with the attitude of the program and the college upon which it is based.

For the past three years, Central YMCA Community College has worked with high-risk students whom other colleges have rejected or dropped. Approximately 25 per cent of the Central Y enrollment is now made up of such students. The college can even point to former high-risk students who have been transferred to Dartmouth, Harvard, and other colleges as well as those who are taking first steps in business or paraprofessional careers.

The success stories are reported with humility. No college dares institutionalize its answers in this volcanic period. A riot or strike is always a possibility, especially when one-fourth of the college is high-risk. The remarkable fact is that there have been few tensions and incidents at Central Y College, and these have been contained largely by the militant black students themselves. To date, the situation at the college is promising. It is part of the SET-GO task to help other colleges apply some of the guidelines which have proven useful.

Talent Drain

Any college which is interested in working with high-risk students must conquer three dragons: finding the talent, measuring it, and holding it.

The first dragon is the most formidable. Where is the talent to be found? It can be expected that the motivated young person will find his own way to the admissions office. If yearning has been a stimulus, if parents or teachers have convinced him of his worth, or if a goal is in sight, he will make the first move.

These students are college bound. If one college does not accept them, another will. If they have difficulty supporting themselves, some counselor or dean or church or sponsor will come to the rescue. The college may have to explore new ways to meet their needs, but it will not have to seek out these particular students.

A fresh black face on a previously all-white campus, or even fifty fresh faces, does not necessarily indicate much rise in the college-bound black population; the change may only remind us that opportunity has broadened for a small segment of ghetto youth who would be college bound in any case. The tendency has been, as additional colleges become conscious of a need to attract black students, for competition to sharpen among colleges for the students regarded as college potential.

The dramatic contribution that Central has made is to prove that the inadequate student—the failure, the dropout, the delinquent—might also have college potential. This rich source of talent barely has been tapped. The finding, if followed by other colleges, could change the fact of the ghetto. If the hope of a better life becomes the mood of our ghetto youth, who can prophesy the effect of that faith on the mood of the nation?

New Standards

"A man who can lead a gang or plan a rumble," said Marcelino Crudo, past head of the Central YMCA Community College work-study division and director of SET-GO, "can learn to plan a paper." YMCA Community College work-study division and committed young people who earn and merit the trust of the gangs with whom they work, were asked to recommend bright gang bangers for college consideration. The gang leaders were the first high-risk students to be accepted under the college outreach plan. All entered on the Y work-study plan, were assigned to work at nonprofit agencies, and were allowed to work up to fifteen hours a week during school periods and up to forty hours a week during vacation.

Tested, they placed unevenly. Many high school graduates tested as poorly as did dropouts. Some read at fourth-grade level, but their youth workers and the college counselors who interviewed them agreed that they had college potential. "Simply to survive in a ghetto requires intelligence," one counselor warned, "to lead demands subtlety, drive, wit, and courage. The skills are transferable."

Developmental classes were arranged to remedy academic deficiencies. Only materials which would interest an adult were used. Advancement was assured at the student's pace so that a student could be moved to a higher level of instruction at any point in the semester. Tutorial assistance helped the student catch up with each new class. Students progressed rapidly. The development classes were so valuable that after a short period the college opened a developmental institute to bring other unprepared and highly motivated young people to college level. Nobody expects miracles. It takes some students two years of developmental help to reach freshman level. The college is patient. As long as the student is willing to try, the college is willing to work with him.

"I was the biggest man on the West Side," said Big John. "I could walk into a store and say hello, and the boss would come out and give me anything I wanted. No credit. No charge. Just my face. Now I haven't got a dime for a cup of wine. I ask myself. Am I crazy going back to school? I've been here one year, and I'd like you to give me one good reason why."

He needs more than one good reason why, and he needs to figure out the reasons more than once. He checks with counselors at the Y and finds his own reasons. Central YMCA Community College offers its high-risk students continuous counseling. The youth worker who persuades the gang member to give himself a chance at college is one friend with whom to check. The work-study director who places him in a job with a nonprofit agency is another. The work-study counselor who knows his personal problems is a third. The SET-GO counselors stand ready to discuss transfer possibilities. The business manager, who he sees when he is in financial difficulties, listens, advises, helps. The teacher who he calls at midnight is another ally. And the full staff of the dean of students' office is available to him.

The college places great emphasis on counseling. All freshman and transfer students who have had difficulties at other schools are required to register for a single-credit course in counseling. Led by psychologists, these courses help students set goals and learn good study habits.

Teaching Teacher

"Think about this boy," said a work-study counselor. "He is one of eighteen kids. His mother is an alcoholic. He doesn't know his father. He's had to figure out where to sleep and how to eat almost all his life. When that boy walks into your classroom, he's telling you something, and he's asking you something."

"I haven't been trained in counseling. I am a teacher," said one faculty member.

"That's a typical white answer," said another teacher, a black teacher. "You have one foot out the door."

The occasion is a faculty meeting called to dispel some of the persistent rumors and to exchange ideas on working with new students.

An administration that brings high-risk students into a college finds itself facing current issues daily. Black and white faculty members confront each other ostensibly over the reception accorded the new student. Questions of student participation, student respect, and college relevance to life become immediate. Central YMCA has been drawing its faculty into the discussion, venting fears, and discovering strength.

How does a teacher reach out? When does he bend a rule? When should a student be expelled?

Students offer cues. The day after the assassination of Martin Luther King, it was the militant black student who controlled the tension. Militant blacks broke up a group that started drinking in the lounge.

"That's what this place is about," said one. "Drink, push pills, fight, or do anything you like—outside, not here."

Will the students themselves continue to control the tensions? Possibly.

The dean of the college reminds his faculty—"I never told you it would be easy. I only promised you a challenge and an opportunity."

Under the Y's work-study rules, students are placed in a variety of jobs with educational and service agencies. The jobs pay high hourly rates, not enough to touch a former gang leader's take but enough to make it possible for him to stay in college.

Something happens to a gang banger when he serves society. A man who teaches small boys to swim begins to see himself differently. Back home with the gang where his reputation as a strong man is secure, he begins to use his leadership differently. Because he is not only a tough man but also a college man, college begins to seem attractive to his lieutenants and his worshippers.

Soon after the gang leaders were absorbed by Central Y College, the Y youth action workers began sending the lesser gang members to the admissions office. The trickle became a flow.

The SET-GO program, charged with discovering new talent, opened in July 1968 with talent at its door.

A staff of 3 outreach workers, assisted by 12 college work-study students, based on 68 outreach workers and 173 indigenous staff of youth action is able to relate personally to the high school dropouts and graduates in 200 street groups.

Through counseling and group work methods, SET-GO is identifying a wide range of talent that would otherwise be missed. Detailed profiles are prepared on each student. Emotional, financial, and academic needs are described. Suggestions are offered to help the participating college meet the student's requirements.

The service is free to both students and colleges. The students are pressing. Only to the extent that colleges respond will the gateway to opportunity open. And that response will help determine not only the fate of our community colleges but also the fate of each of our communities.

PERALTA: NEW TIES TO THE INNER CITY

Year-Old Project Funded by O.E.O. Points to New Problem Approaches

By Thomas F. Cottingim and Richard H. Gott

To inner-city residents of Oakland, California, the name "Peralta" may easily carry a different, sharper, warmer ring today than it did eighteen months ago. To an increasing number of inner-city residents, the name today means neighborhood centers—walk-in centers where people study English as a second language; where they dance and act and paint, for credit or for recreation; where they seek jobs and job skills, and enroll in regular credit courses. It means increased ethnic pride; neighborhood newspapers; tutoring for children; college scholarships for family men or new training to get back into the labor market.

All of these programs have been unfolding in the inner city through the work of two campuses, the Laney and Merritt Colleges of the Peralta Junior College District, under a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

With the cooperative assistance of the American Association of Junior Colleges, Peralta has developed an approach designed to disperse and extend more directly the instructional programs, energies, and efforts of district colleges to poverty groups in ghetto areas. Now called the "Inner City Project," this program was begun in April 1968 and has recently been refunded by the Office of Economic Opportunity through June 1969. There is reason to believe that the Office of Economic Opportunity will refund the project for another year after this date.

The overall thrust of the project has been outreach: to take the resources of the community colleges in the district to the poverty areas of the inner city. The major goal is change, not only to improve the life chances of the ghetto residents but in the approach of the district's community colleges to better enable them to respond to the total community which they serve. In essence, the unique program is aimed at developing a new "life style" for higher education in the nation's urban centers.

A key feature of the project, and one of the stipulations set down by the Office of Economic Opportunity, has been the direct involvement of inner-city residents in all aspects of the development and decision-making processes. The Inner City Project staff drew up suggestions and guidelines which were modified, acted upon, or rejected by an advisory committee of residents.

After much consideration, research, and deliberation, three major elements of the project were approved and funded. The O.E.O. initially provided some $350,000, and the district furnished some $70,000 from its own funds. The three major components established were a student service corps, a scholarship program for adults, and community development centers in poverty areas with attached cultural interchange programs.

The Student Service Corps

Both Laney and Merritt Colleges of the Paralta District each selected some fifty-five students to participate in their respective student service corps. They had to be residents of the inner city, full-time students, and they or their families had to meet the low income poverty criteria established by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

After attending orientation and training sessions, the student service corpsmen have been able to provide semiprofessional assistance to various agencies, institutions, and groups within the inner city which have been approved by the indigenous advisory committee. One criterion which all agencies must meet in order to employ student service corpsmen is that at least 51 per cent of their membership be drawn from the poor according to O.E.O. guidelines. The corpsmen may work up to fifteen hours a week, paid from project funds, in various agencies:

1. *Adult Union for Action:* The purpose of this project is community development. The students provide a wide variety of services, such as organizing social and cultural activities for preteens, running a "tiny tot" program, supervising study halls, and developing group counseling activities.

2. *North Oakland Credit Union:* Students assigned to this agency assist applicants in filing credit union forms and process them within the agency. They also work to develop community interest in the concept of a credit union. The purpose of this particular credit union is to provide loans to low income families and to provide financial counseling and general aid in installment buying.

3. *La Causa, Inc.:* La Causa is an educational clearinghouse for Spanish surname students. This agency works to encourage such students to enter

and to persist in college. Spanish-speaking student service corpsmen also work with young people from junior high schools and high schools.

While the majority of the student service corpsmen are black youths, a number of Spanish surname and Indian students work with agencies and groups dedicated to serving people from their respective ethnic backgrounds. Every attempt is made to place the corpsmen in positions which will provide training and experience to enhance their academic and/or vocational goals.

The student service corpsmen are supervised by both a full-time campus director and the employing agency. In addition, several more advanced and experienced corpsmen are given the opportunity to develop leadership skills by monitoring other corpsmen.

To encourage adult residents of the inner city to enter college and to enable them to prepare themselves for careers in public service in their home communities, the Inner City Project established a program to provide a scholarship-substitute grants to approximately thirty students, fifteen each at Laney and Merritt colleges, at $125 each a month for an academic year.

To be eligible for the scholarship-subsistence program residents had to meet the following requirements:

1. Must be a citizen, or have filed an intent of becoming a citizen, and a resident of the target area
2. Need *not* be a high school graduate
3. Should be twenty-one years of age or older
4. Must demonstrate an interest in attending college
5. Must meet the O.E.O. income criterion.

The Inner City Advisory Committee established the criteria, set up a committee of ghetto residents to screen all applicants, and made the final selections. A month-long orientation and preparation session was provided to assist those selected to adjust to their new roles as students.

Community Development Centers

Four community development centers have been established in inner-city target areas. Each college has general administrative responsibility for two centers. In general, the centers serve as the locus for the college's outreach commitment by functioning as staging areas for programs and services to the community at large. The centers help the colleges to establish a tangible presence in the community and disseminate information about the colleges and other public services available to the residents. Residents may officially enroll in the colleges at the centers, and a number of regular college courses are available to them there, both college parallel and general adult courses.

Each center has its own community advisory board which meets at the center to advise on and help develop a diversified program of educational, cultural, social, and recreational activities to be carried out at the centers and throughout the community. In addition, the center staff acquires information relative to community interests and needs through questionnaire and canvassing techniques.

The centers also serve as a meeting place for a wide variety of community agencies ranging from community action groups to ethnic organizations. Such groups may often receive consulting and technical aid from center and college staff members as well as the use of facilities.

A cultural exchange program is being developed at each center with emphasis on understanding the cultural backgrounds of the various ethnic groups living in the inner city. The development and enrichment of each ethnic group's unique culture and identity is stressed in this aspect of the centers' operations.

The Future

Through "grass roots" leadership and participation, the Inner City Project has begun to form a unique relationship between the community and the colleges. This participation from the residents of the community has become an integral part of the program and has proven to be a highly stimulating and motivating factor. Another element which has been conducive to success is the flexibility built into the project's structure. This feature provides the opportunity to modify or add to the program in response to community needs.

Finally, the concept of community involvement in program development and implementation is seen by Peralta as a critical element in this new "life style" for higher education. If established institutions expect the people of the inner city to enter into cooperative relationships which are based upon trust and mutuality of interest, then such institutions are going to have to demonstrate their trust in the community.

The Peralta Inner City Project was funded by O.E.O. as a research and demonstration project and will hence undergo thorough evaluation at the end of its first academic year of operation. Evidence and data thus far available, however, all point to the viability of Peralta's approach. It is expected that the district will provide the service for the integration of successful components of the project into the ongoing college program over the next two years.

By Martin G. Moed, Thomas Carroll, and Marie Stewart

Experimenting with a Social Service Technology Program

Students in the university Public Service Careers Training Program (seated) observe a class in day-care techniques at New York City Community College, part of the City University of New York.

The Two-Year College Can Effectively Contribute to a Meaningful Attack on Poverty

The Social Service Technology College Program for disadvantaged adults is a pilot project jointly sponsored and funded by the City University of New York and New York City's Manpower and Career Development Agency. The participants, employed as case aides in the Department of Social Services, receive their full salary while they study on released time to earn a two-year degree. With the degree, the graduate is eligible for the position of assistant case worker, a newly created job on the ladder of social service careers. An important aim of this program is to prove that adults living in ghettos can successfully do college-level work and improve their career options when the appropriate opportunities and support are provided. The dimensions of this effort become even clearer when one considers that the typical participant is a middle-aged woman with children, sometimes managing her household alone.

To become eligible for the college program, participants first complete the university's high school equivalency program. At the same time, they are employed by the Department of Social Services as case aide trainees, working twenty hours a week and spending fifteen hours in the classroom. During this period, their wages and the costs of study are funded through the federally sponsored Public Service Career Training Program. After completion of the department's in-service training, the trainee is promoted to the position of case aide and becomes a regular employe of the department. Finally, attainment of high school equivalency guarantees the participant admission into the college program if he should desire to enter.

The students in the college phase attend either the Borough of Manhattan or the New York City Community College of the City University of New York. They are part of College Discovery, a university program which offers college opportunities for students who do not meet the normal admission requirements. The College Discovery program provides students with special remedial courses, extensive counseling, and tutorial services.

Features of the Program

The social service technician college-level program possesses a number of unusual and generally innovative features; the most significant include:

1. *Guaranteed college admission:* The only condition is possession of high school equivalency;

Left: In a program reading laboratory at New York City Community College, each individual proceeds at his own pace, continuing to develop college-level skills. Right: Marie Stewart, right, leads a discussion of interviewing skills in the introductory course of social work in the Public Service Careers Training Program at Borough of Manhattan Community College, New York.

participants are not subject to the normal admissions procedure.

2. *Payment for released time which constitutes one-half the normal work week:* Participants receive full case aide salary ($5,200 annual minimum as of 7/1/69) while on a weekly schedule of seventeen and a half hours on the job.

3. *Salary increments and greater job responsibilities while in the program:* Participants receive a $200 increase upon the completion of twenty-one credits and another $200 after forty-six credits.

4. *Working for the associate degree as a regular matriculant:* Program students enjoy the same status as other community college students and can participate in regular college extracurricular activities.

5. *Credit for work experience:* Participants receive from ten to twelve credits toward their degree for their field experience in the Department of Social Services.

6. *Articulation with senior colleges:* Participants are able to transfer with junior year status.

The program began in September 1968 with 100 students—51 at New York City Community College and 49 at the Borough of Manhattan Community College. An additional 48 entered Borough of Manhattan in February 1969, and another 100 (50 at each school) are expected to begin in September 1969. Thus nearly 250 social service trainees will be involved by that time.

The curricular requirements are fairly similar. Borough of Manhattan Community College awards an A.S. degree in social service, whereas New York City Community College grants an A.A.S. The credit requirements are approximated as follows:

General liberal arts	36 to 40 credits
Spanish	6 to 10 credits
Work experience	10 to 12 credits
Social service courses	12 credits
Total	64 to 68 credits

Upon receipt of the degree, the students will be able to transfer to one of the senior colleges within the university without loss of credit. They will be allowed to use the social service course to meet the requirements for the baccalaureate degree with a major in sociology.

The schools differ significantly in the form and the scheduling of the program. To a great degree, this reflects a difference in philosophy between the two colleges. The potentially most important decision to be made concerning structure involved whether the program should be kept autonomous or whether the participants should be immediately integrated into the regular college course with other students. One college felt that—at least for the first year—the students should have a more individual approach and new methods of instruction in view of the difference in backgrounds and academic preparation. Thus, they developed homogeneous class groupings limited to twelve students each. The second institution believed it wiser to integrate the students into its regular social service program so that they would be exposed to competition as "equals" with other students. This plan, it was thought,

would give the participants a more realistic view of the college environment. Moreover, success would be more satisfying for the participants knowing that they were coping with the same work as the regular community college students who had met normal admissions requirements, and they would not be isolated from the benefits of the typical college experience.

Scheduling was affected by the structure of the program. In the case of the autonomous program, the students were on campus two full days and a half each week. The other two and a half days were spent on the job site. On the full days on campus, students attend classes for three hours, the class schedule being spread over the entire day. The intervening hours are spent in study, counseling, tutoring, extracurricular activities, and relaxation. With this schedule, it was easy to arrange convenient hours for the participants. For example, when many mothers were unable to arrive on time for 9 A.M. classes because of domestic obligations; the second semester saw an easy change in the first class to 10 A.M.

The second college, because of its integrative approach, arranges classes for either the morning or the afternoon. Every weekday is evenly divided (three and a half hours each) between class and job. This type of timetable is unavoidable since so many of the school's courses (especially mathematics, lab sciences, and language) meet four days a week. The first college, on the other hand, can manipulate its separate program to schedule classes as conveniently as possible for the students.

It was originally projected that this program could be completed in two calendar years (two regular academic years plus two summer sessions). This projection proved too ambitious, and it now appears that most students will require between two and a half to three years to complete all of the degree requirements. A major reason for the additional time needed for completion of the program was that not all students were able to carry a full twelve credits for the first semester. A considerable number of those who did not pass an English composition placement test had to take a noncredit remediation course in writing. This replaced English composition, a first semester requirement and a credit course. Another group, after taking a reading placement exam, was assigned to reading laboratories for two hours a week. Like the writing course, this is noncredit, but it did not replace a credit course.

Of the eighty-four participants who completed the first semester, thirty-eight had taken twelve credits; forty earned between nine and eleven credits; and six took more than twelve (thirteen or fourteen). Since the college with the homogeneous structure has a more fixed curriculum, its students earned either twelve or nine credits (sixteen and thirty-one students, respectively). The integrated program, allowing its students greater freedom in choice of courses, had six students taking more than twelve credits; twenty-two carried twelve; and nine took eleven or less.

Grades for the first semester were quite high, and only about seven students fell below the probation point. A number of other students were achieving honors-level grades. The group at the school with homogeneous class groupings had a grade-point average of 2.7; twenty-two students achieved a 3.0 or higher average, while five students fell below 1.5, the college's probation point. The average for the entire integrated group was 2.0; three students had 3.0 or higher; only two were below 1.5.

Many students took advantage of the tutoring available. One of the schools employed two special tutors in Spanish and math, subjects which presented widespread difficulties for the participants. The Spanish tutor was employed for a group during the Christmas holidays, and a math tutor worked during the spring recess with a number of students. This special tutoring feature was judged a great success, and it will probably become a more permanent fixture of the program in the future.

The case aides are assigned to one of three bureaus at one of forty-five different locations in the city: public assistance, child welfare, or special services (including older persons day centers, the division of employment and rehabilitation, and the

foster home program). The aides work under the direct supervision of a unit supervisor. They perform a wide variety of tasks in connection with all the social services, such as home and office interviews with clients, shopping, translation, answering telephone inquiries, preparing correspondence, and assisting in child placement and other social problems.

A case aide's supervisor completes a written field work evaluation for each semester period. This evaluation includes the following items:

1. How the student makes use of supervision
2. Relationships with others—clients, staff members, agency representatives
3. Judgment
4. Ability to learn
5. Quality of work
6. Attendance and punctuality

Lastly, the supervisor is asked his recommendation as to whether the student should receive credit for the field work although the final decision is the college's prerogative.

A formal comparison between the case aides in the college program and the other case aides has not been made, but the general view of the supervisors and the program's job coordinator is that the case aides in the college program are performing better. In some cases, students' work performances were characterized as "outstanding" by supervisors. Although a few supervisors said the case aides attending college were benefiting because of more specific knowledge, the majority of supervisors commented on more general aspects such as better ability to express themselves and better ability to perceive and understand situations.

Observations

The drop-out rate in the program has been very low. In the first semester, only four students dropped out of the program with the homogeneous class groupings. Two additional students dropped out in the second semester. The college with the integrated approach had twelve dropouts in the first semester but only two in the second semester. Thus, out of a total one hundred and forty-eight program participants (forty-eight joined the program in February 1969), there were twenty dropouts, a rate of approximately 15 per cent. It is important to note, too, that only four dropped out in the second semester, a substantial decrease. The reasons for dropping out were not always clear, but they generally involved domestic difficulties. In a few cases, opportunities for advancement led students to leave the program. One student was offered a better job with the state, and another decided to register as a full-time student at Bronx Community College.

It is not surprising that many problems were encountered, especially when one considers the background and circumstances of the "typical" participant. Very often, the trainee is a mature woman (the majority of the program students are women), the head of a household with children, and a member of a minority group. Many participants have been recipients of public assistance. A mother with young children has tremendous responsibilities, which were only aggravated by last year's teacher strike and the flu epidemic. Many heads of families, particularly the men in the program, need to take a second job to support their families. This problem, however, has been partially alleviated. When the program began, salaries were at $4,300 annually for case aides which was hardly adequate. Now, the union has managed to obtain a new contract, paying $5,200 annually as of July 1, 1969, and this is to increase to $6,000 in June 1971. The increases that are made during the course of the program $200 after both twenty-one credits and forty-six credits) also help lessen the financial problem and act as another incentive to achieve in the program and on the job.

Since so many of the participants share crowded living quarters, there is not only no time but no place to study. Seventeen and a half hours a week are still spent in working for the Department of Social Services, creating a difficult and at times grueling schedule. It is not surprising that in attempting to break the poverty cycle, the symptoms of poverty often interfere with the effort. The colleges try to alleviate the problem by scheduling ample study time on the campus and assisting the students to make maximum use of library and other facilities.

That the drop-out rate has been as low as it has been indicates overall success and a high degree of motivation on the part of the students. Considering the rigors and responsibilities in the daily routine of the "typical" participant, the achievement appears even more impressive. The large majority of participants voiced enthusiastic praise for the

"That the drop-out rate has been as low as it has indicates overall success and a high degree of motivation on the part of the student."

". . . the program is demonstrating how community colleges can provide a new kind of educational opportunity to people for whom college was never a possibility."

program staff—both counselors and faculty—indicating that student-teacher relationships were good. The good grades achieved reflect the students' willingness to work. It is most important to note, too, that there was no indication that academic difficulty alone forced students to drop out of the program. The efforts of the tutorial and counseling staffs were crucial in enabling the students to cope with academic work and related difficulties. Closer cooperation between the counseling staff and job supervisors, however, will facilitate earlier identification of the individual student's problems. Such improvements, it is thought, could cut the drop-out rate even further.

Two Approaches

As noted above, each school has a different type of class scheduling. The schedule which allows two full days on campus was popular with the students because it did not require travel between class and job every day. The daily half-and-half work and class schedule wastes an extra hour or more each day in nonusable travel time. Students with noon classes often had to skip lunch in order to arrive at the job on time. The two and a half days work and the two and a half days class schedule led to a less pressurized atmosphere, allowing students to become more involved in campus activities. With greater leisure, they also found it easier to focus their attention on academic assignments. The convenience of this schedule is greatly preferred by job supervisors. The nature of the job makes the morning hours the busiest, and it is easier and often more productive if the supervisor can schedule a full day's activity for an aide. Besides, having the aide on the job in the morning allows the supervisor more flexibility in responding to the morning's emergencies and inquiries. As it was, the majority of the participants on the half-day schedule chose to work in the afternoon after morning classes, thus aggravating the supervisor's difficulties.

Yet, although one schedule has been overwhelmingly preferred by both students and supervisors, there is no evidence to show that the half-day schedule significantly hindered a student's effectiveness. The school might assert, too, that the merits of an integrated class system more than justifies its scheduling.

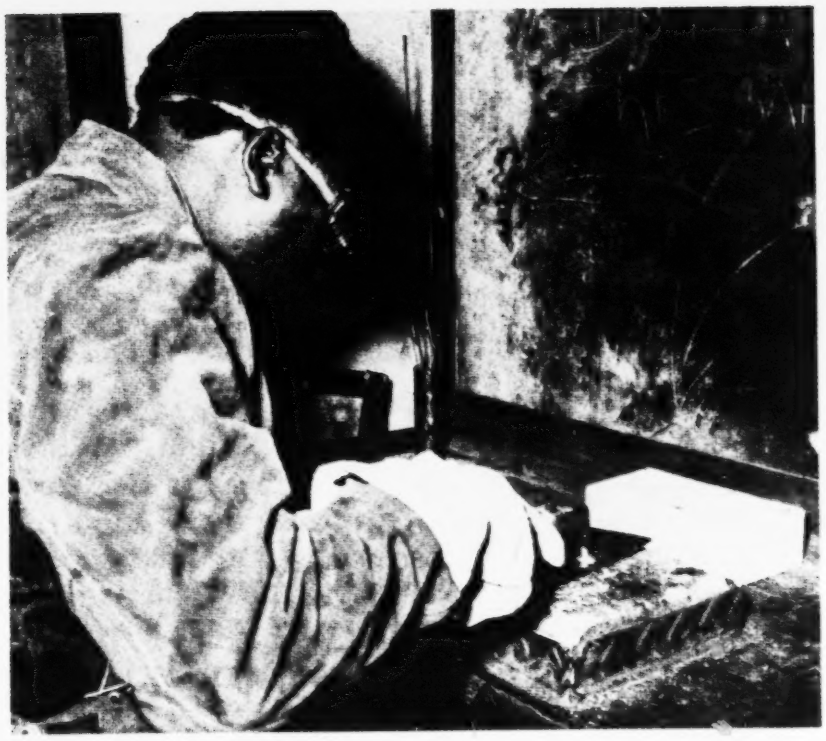
The homogeneously grouped participants scored somewhat higher grades and had substantially fewer dropouts in the first semester. It might be argued that their work was easier inasmuch as the students were not competing with other members of the student body. If the classes were as difficult, the students' better performance might have resulted from being more at ease with their peers. In effect, the homogeneous approach stresses that the generally poor educational background and the greater (i.e., than other community college students) job and family responsibilities of the participants demand a separate program in order to keep these students in college. The integrated approach asserts that equal competition with other students is emotionally important to the participant. Success under these circumstances is more satisfying, and the student has no reason to doubt his ability. There is no fear that he is not really doing college-level work. Under the integrated approach, the participant registers for courses with the whole school, giving him a somewhat greater choice of courses than those in the homogeneous program.

Both approaches, then, have evident merits, but no definitive judgment can be made at this point. If the first college does integrate students in their second year, it will be important to see if that adjustment is easier for the students than the initial integration at the second college. The experience of the second year will provide a better basis of comparison.

On the basis of one year's experience, the program appears to be off to a good start. The students' enthusiasm and performance, both on campus and on the job, have been consistently high. They are very proud of their achievement and very determined to earn the college degree.

From a social point of view, the program is demonstrating how community colleges can provide a new kind of educational opportunity to people for whom college was never a possibility. In many cases, it is likely that even the thought of the possibility was nonexistent. In two years, the participants have changed from unemployed high school dropouts on welfare to career civil service employes with a high school equivalency diploma and a semester's work of college completed. The program has demonstrated that those people whose circumstances have kept them trapped in poverty need only be given the opportunity to achieve a new way of life. In this way, the colleges can effectively contribute to a meaningful attack on poverty.

TRAINING THE UNEMPLOYED



Peralta College District Establishes New Community Service Project

By Jack Michie

In a large metropolitan area, the community college plays an important role as a community service agency. Such a project was undertaken by the Peralta College District which has had a significant, positive impact upon the unemployment problem in the Oakland, California, area.

Early in 1966, the East Bay Skills Center was established for the purpose of training the hard-core unemployed for employability. In many cases, if not most, the trainees of this center are representative of educational failure. Most achieve on very low levels, many are illiterate, and all lack the skill necessary for meaningful employment. All of this is coupled with the fact that approximately 30 per cent of the one thousand plus trainees are non-English speaking and the bulk of the remainder speak a nonstandard English.

The center was funded under the Manpower Development and Training Act, and training programs cover some thirty or more occupational areas ranging from cook-pantry to aircraft mechanics. The courses vary in length depending upon the nature of the occupation. Some are as short as seventeen weeks while others may last an entire year. The relative success of the program as a whole is reflected in the fact that approximately 80 per cent of the trainees are placed in jobs, thus removing many from public assistance rolls.

Success Stories

One of the more dramatic success stories is about a Negro gentleman, about fifty years old, who came to the center in mid-1967. He had a very spotty employment history and bordered on functional illiteracy. After approximately ten months at the center he was trained as an auto mechanic. His basic skills were strengthened, and he was introduced to the concepts of economics which would permit him to escape the bands of poverty. With the help of various staff members at the center, he applied for and obtained a small business loan. Today he is operating his own auto tune-up business.

Two other trainees, upon completing a training course for welders, have opened their own welding shop. Recently they obtained a very large contract with a major automobile manufacturer, and they are now providing employment for other graduates of the welding class.

Thus far, this sounds as if it were one huge success story; but one might ask what happens to the 20 per cent who do not make it. Unfortunately, they usually return to the street. Many are complete

derelicts; some are confirmed alcoholics or dope addicts; and for others there seems to be no answer. It is with this segment that one feels so very helpless. All too often, it is this element of the trainee population which attracts the press, causes unrest within the institution, and tends to destroy what might otherwise be a very positive image.

New Techniques

Most of the success of the center lies with the creativity of the staff, their eagerness to accept the challenge and discard old ideas. For example, a recent project involved training a large number of Spanish speaking people to speak and read functional English in an average period of seventeen weeks. As a result of this undertaking, several interesting and successful techniques were developed.

One of the techniques involved the use of a super 8mm movie camera. The class went on field trips filming what they saw and other class members. These films were processed, and the class developed a dialog around the film. As the dialog wore thin, new films were made, thus generating renewed interest and enthusiasm. This technique was used about once a week, and recordings of student progress were very impressive.

Automated teaching machines were used to excellent advantage. These machines in essence are nothing more than a slide projector and tape playback mechanism, consolidated to make up a single machine. Although many packaged programs are available from the manufacturer for use on the machines, at the skills center special programs were designed for the purpose of training illiterates and non-English speakers in basic education skills. In addition, the programs were designed to test the individuals for both general and mechanical aptitude.

For example, one of the programs designed for the teaching machine was entitled "Precision Occupations." In this program students were introduced to terms and instruments used for measurement, drafting, and similar operations. Photographs of the particular tool would be flashed on the screen, students would be told the name of the object, and the correct spelling would be included in the photograph. Subsequent slides explain its function and the student would be required to perform operations with the tool. For example, the student would be given a micrometer to measure various objects at his work station. The teacher could then observe how well he followed instructions, his apparent dexterity in the use of the tool, and his ability to understand the arithmetic concepts involved. Eventually, through this exposure to many varied experiences, students develop a better understanding of individual abilities and aptitudes for occupations. Thus, selection of an occupational training program becomes more realistic. Contrast this with the pencil and paper testing usually employed, and one can readily see the effectiveness of this approach.

Expanded use of the three-level language laboratory was possible through modification of the four-track system. The system was modified to accommodate student recording on three of the four tracks. The teacher's dialog was recorded on track one, and the students repeated the dialog on each of the other three tracks. Thus, the teachers could check the progress of each student merely by switching tracks.

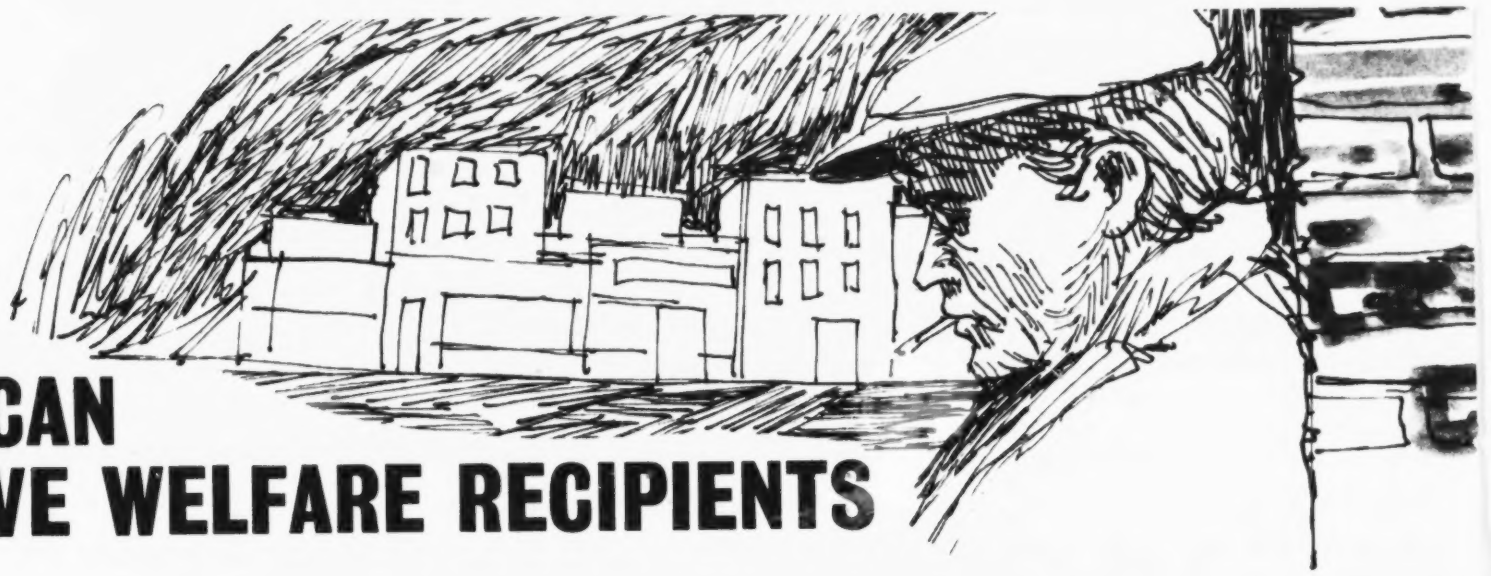
Motivation Is the Answer

The success of occupational classes gives rise to speculation as to why vocational classes, common to junior colleges throughout the country, operate as they do. In a period of eleven months, for example, it has been possible to train fully certified aircraft mechanics; in a period of eight months, welders have been trained in all phases of welding including inert gas welding of exotic metals. This has been accomplished in spite of the fact that trainees were achieving at about fifth-grade level upon entry into these programs. Customarily, these are two-year junior college programs.

Why is it that an institution such as the East Bay Skills Center, and this is but one of many throughout the country, can take educational failures and turn them into successful, contributing citizens? The answer, at least in this author's opinion, is simply one of proper motivation. It may come as a shock to some, but there are large numbers of people who wish only to be equipped with the skills requisite for employment. Unfortunately, we are so fraught with tradition in public schools that we are often unwilling to recognize that there may not be courses that are good for everyone; or that these courses, if indeed they do exist, may require different sequencing for different individuals.

The root of the philosophy behind course development at the East Bay Skills Center is a recognition that the traditional approach has not worked for the individuals involved in this program. Further, according to the U.S. Office of Education, over one million students drop out of the nation's schools each year—evidence that it may be time to take a hard look at what we are doing in public schools. In conclusion, the East Bay Skills Center, a community service of the Peralta Junior College District, may offer some clue as to the direction we should be taking.

Perhaps community service projects will serve the valuable function of helping us isolate our inadequacies.



WE CAN SERVE WELFARE RECIPIENTS

Clatsop College in Oregon Offers Its Resources to Disadvantaged Persons in the Community

By Dan J. Donham

Can a community college provide educational services designed to enhance the employability of the welfare recipient?

Is it possible to offer the required range of educational opportunities and other services necessary for those persons who are economically and educationally disadvantaged?

The answer to these questions is given in the report of a three-year demonstration project at Clatsop Community College in Oregon. Day care, transportation, tuition, books and supplies, medical examinations, and medical service are but a few of the factors in providing education for the welfare recipient. The project, which is codirected by the state public welfare office, receives funds under title 1115 of the Social Security Act (Bureau of Family Services).

The project is a result of the interest of personnel from various agencies, including the public health office, mental health clinic, employment service office, and public welfare office. These people recognized the type of help required to aid welfare recipients in acquiring employable skills which must include individual counseling and interagency cooperation in addition to basic education.

The community college obtained the services of a counselor trained in working with the disadvantaged and the county and state public welfare office provided an experienced caseworker.

Welfare recipients were referred to the project caseworker by the county public welfare office. Following the initial referral, the usual procedure included a home visit by a counselor and/or caseworker. Testing and initial vocational assessment were completed in preparation for college entrance. Some recipients were referred to other agencies. (Manpower Development and Training Act, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, Non-Disabled Vocational Rehabilitation, Job Corps, etc.) Others were found to be inappropriate referrals to the project. Some could not take training because of the shortage of adequate day care for children.

The testing included the college placement battery (School and College Abilities Test, Engineering and Physical Science Aptitude Test, Nelson-Denny Reading Test) as well as tests selected by the project to aid in vocational assessment and research. (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Sequential Test of Educational Progress, Strong Vocational Interest Blank, Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability, Edwards Personal Preference Schedule.

The majority of students were able to function adequately in the established college curriculum. In some instances, tutoring was provided in the basic subjects (tool skills in reading, writing, English, spelling, and math). Freedom was given to select course-work without respect to established curriculum patterns if the student could be better served in a more flexible curriculum. In some cases, the welfare recipient took remedial course-work in conjunction with a vocational program (reading, English fundamentals, typing, business machines, and office procedures).

TABLE I
GRADE POINT AVERAGES

Term	*Grade point average*
Winter term 1965	2.50
Spring term 1965	2.68
Summer term 1965	3.00
Fall term 1965	2.28

The project caseworker continued to fulfill the role required by agency policy, but also established the necessary day care plans for dependent children, transportation arrangements, clothing allowances, and the many other details that required attention.

The role of the caseworker changed as he became involved in an intensive relationship with the recipient. The office within the college setting assured almost daily contact with the welfare recipient. In turn, the recipient saw the caseworker in a different light—as a helping figure anxious to meet the needs of the recipient.

Group counseling sessions developed out of the caseworker's interest in group sessions with ADC mothers. The weekly group sessions were used to disseminate information relative to welfare regulations and college requirements. In addition, the group sessions were aimed at promoting a therapeutic atmosphere providing emotional support to the recipients who were encouraged to share problems with others.

Individual counseling continued to be the essential tool in maintaining the caseworker-counselor-recipient relationship. Intensive service was provided by the staff as attempts were made to enlarge the horizon of opportunity for the welfare recipient in the training program. As the recipient became involved in the training program the self-image shifted from one of dependency to one of having the potential for employment and self-support.

The process of a change in the self-image should not be accepted as a simple process, nor should one feel that this was the only process in action during participation in the project, but it is a useful concept to consider.

The project made demands on the college staff that included extra help for the welfare recipient in academic preparation as well as informal counseling of a supportive nature. In some subject areas the instructor was called upon to read examinations and quiz the student orally when the reading and writing skills of the student did not provide an adequate method of displaying knowledge. In spite of the many handicaps, the student did achieve in the junior college setting. Of the first 112 referred to the project fifty-three are no longer receiving public assistance. The successes are employed in a wide range of occupations.

As community colleges develop throughout the United States, it is reasonable to assume that these publicly supported institutions will be called upon to play an ever-increasing role in providing resources for the disadvantaged. In Astoria we have had the opportunity to compare our project with a large urban Job Corps center. The comparison has been difficult as we have utilized existing community agencies and a budget of $65,000 whereas the Job Corps has established agencies of its own at a cost of several million dollars.

This project has made every effort to serve welfare recipients within the community and to that end the recipient is continually facing reality. As the services of a community college become more comprehensive, we should look forward to assuming much more of the burden that Job Corps centers now face.

TABLE II
IDENTIFYING DATA—REFERRALS

	All Referrals	*"Successes"*
Type of Assistance		
Aid to dependent children (ADC)	52	22
Aid to dependent children (unemployed father) (ADC-UN)	14	12
Aid to disabled (AD)	12	1
Foster care (FC)	9	3
Aid to dependent children (ADC children)	10	7
Aid to blind (AB)	1	
General assistance (GA)	10	6
Other	4	2
Females	68	31
Males	44	22
Average age	31.6	30.5
Marital status		
Married	30	18
Divorced	24	9
Single	36	15
Separated	17	6
Other	5	5
Average number of years of gainful employment	7+	6.5
Average number of years of formal education	10.3	10.2
Average number of months on assistance	33.6	31.7
Average amount of assistance	$124.20	$120.63

"RETREADING" TEACHERS THE HARD WAY

A Forced March Through the Gutters of San Francisco

by Don DeNevi

Most junior college teachers in the ghetto live neatly-compartmentalized lives. Man, they actually feel sentenced to teach slum youth. They only put up with it because they need the bread—the bastards. Their teaching is passionless. Their empathy with those they teach, with the surrounding community is nonexistent. Their jobs, like their lives, are counterfeits: dry lectures substitute for teaching; confrontations with students replace counseling. Ghetto teachers flee back to their tidy suburban pods for what little redemption they get from cocktails or nagging wives. What is needed are seasoned professionals: professionals who are not gelded, who listen and teach with a skill that lends warmth and hope to lives which often hang by slender threads.

With these words, "Mission Rebel" leaders Ray Towbis and Derrick Hill, along with City College of San Francisco instructor Dan Peterson, initiated a new and compelling summer institute for junior college teachers of the disadvantaged. Quietly listening were twenty, white, middle-aged, middle class teachers from across the nation. The EPDA, Title V, Institute for Junior College Teachers of Disadvantaged Students from Urban Ghettos was conceived to offer firsthand exposure to slum life.

Towbis, Hill, and Peterson believed that by establishing a one-to-one working relationship with youth of the inner city, a greater sensitivity would be gained by the participants to the educational and human needs of the disadvantaged. All participants agreed to the overriding objective of the institute: to have significantly taught the problems and their solutions in the education of ghetto youth. Basic to the problem of junior college instruction of the poor is the individual teacher's own middle class education values which tend to alienate rather than aid students from poverty areas. Therefore, a reversal of traditional roles was sought between teacher and urban youth. Each participating teacher was paid a weekly stipend of $75, plus $15 for eligible dependents; no registration fees were required. Towbis continued:

> In your applications for admission, you said you wanted to spend this summer supposedly learning the life-style of those you teach: the minority and often the hopeless. You don't want any traditional crap offered in teacher education programs. We plan to provide you with a series of real-life encounters that will walk you through gutters, rat-infested tenements, garbage-strewn back alleys, and glass-littered lots. We hope you'll prove us wrong when we argue that all you wanted was a summer vacation in San Francisco.

With that introduction over, the teachers learned they would spend their summer mornings in traditional classroom sessions on the City College of San Francisco campus, hearing lectures by experts on the legal and medical problems of the poor, employment, community-action programs, and school decentralization. This would be considered "basic training." During each afternoon, teachers would go into "combat" with selected teaching "tutors"—that is, hard-core youths from the "Mission Rebels" self-help organization.

> You teachers aren't going out on any field trip to see the natives. The real content of this summer's course will be found in the streets, in the gutters. You'll be led by hand (on a one-to-one basis) by our own people—Blacks, Chinese, Mexican-Americans, etc., ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-five.

With granite conviction and mordant wit about the sadness, pain, loneliness, and hard luck of ghetto life, Towbis, Hill, and Peterson thus arranged for each teacher to accompany a tutor through a typical summer in San Francisco's six slum neighborhoods, participating fully in the tutor's life as he visited friends, "rapped" on street corners, played the streets, and went to work—if a tutor was fortunate enough to have found employment. The "tutors" were paid $70 each week to "teach" teachers. "Listen, man," said one, "the money ain't the only reason I'm doing this job; I'm doing something to teach 'the man.' He doesn't now *anything* about my life, and he comes in here all cocksure about the ghetto. Well, I'm showing 'em where it's at. Maybe when they teach my people back in their lily-white, clean junior colleges (the environment they know) they'll be a bit more sensitive of how and wherefore."

Discovering during the opening sessions that the much older professional teachers were unable to converse with the human wreckage they met, Towbis, Hill, and Peterson, and their tutors offered themselves as "models" on how to approach any personality or situation in a meaningful and creative way. During this initial phase, the participants also resisted the language and behavioral patterns of ghetto youth. Questions of white racism, affluence

and abject poverty, spite, guilt, and one's own violence were ignored. Realizing that retreading traditional teachers wasn't going to be easy, it was agreed to literally force the noses of participants into questions of race prejudice. For example, a white, middle-aged female was arbitrarily assigned a husky black youth as tutor on a daily basis. While being led through poverty, she was faced with questions such as:

Why is it, that in the most schooled nations in history, white affluent people tolerate slums?

Why is it that white people generally fail to see what it means to be black in America?

Why do many of us steadfastly refuse to give equality and full citizenship to minority groups?

Why is there so little perception of injustice?

Why is there so little compassion?

Through such continuous questioning, it was hoped she would realize her own innate race prejudice, its often unconscious sublimation as authoritarism, and its possible explosive mixture in the classroom. As a successful, busy, independent, pragmatic teacher who knows well the technique of structuring neatly packaged lectures, she was unused to being thwarted and frustrated by the "heathen," unwashed, and violent.

Role Delineation

Rather slowly, a problem of role delineation began to emerge: Teachers who sought admission to the institute because they wanted to learn *how* ghetto youth live disagreed as to its operational level. In other words, they wanted to be taught by empirical means and were reluctant to leave the City College of San Francisco classroom. It was apparent that white, middle class teachers wanted to be "taught" by white, middle class teachers, regardless of the insight or firsthand experiences lived by their tutors, or other community residents and leaders of minority descent brought in to "tell it like it is." Disoriented by Ray Towbis and Derrick Hill—white and black tough-looking young men who speak abrasively in the language of ghetto gutters—the teachers turned to Don Peterson, a kindly appearing, white junior college instructor with whom they could more readily identify.

Many participants complained and implied they were being "victimized," forced to experience encounter after encounter which they considered irrelevant. But over the course of the summer, a significant change in attitude was observed on the part of many teachers, an attitudinal change which pointed to the magnitude of the qualitative impact the institute was having on the teachers. At the outset, many were displaying the typical smugness and "understanding" held by professionals who have

had minor involvement with disadvantaged students—the attitude of *I know*. Towbis, Hill, and Peterson saw that this attitude was their paramount obstacle. They knew that stripping the participants of this comfortable attitude would immediately bring about confusion and ire. They were prepared. As Towbis and Hill hacked away at the participants' subterfuges and rationalizations, Peterson worked to reformulate their cognitive sets and emotional responses.

From these experiences, many teachers began to feel an added willingness and ability to teach. They recognized that junior college education is not just a monopoly of a school district but a joint enterprise of themselves, parents, employers, and professionals from various social agencies. Since a meaningful acquaintance was achieved with the value structures, home, and neighborhood conditions of poverty, teachers were soon breaking out of their own ethnocentrism. Although some felt this was "a hell of a way to do it," few could not agree that it was often educationally thrilling. Junior college teachers were now seeing how they might relate curriculum to the structure of their students' values—skills and bodies of knowledge to a differentiation of ways of knowing.

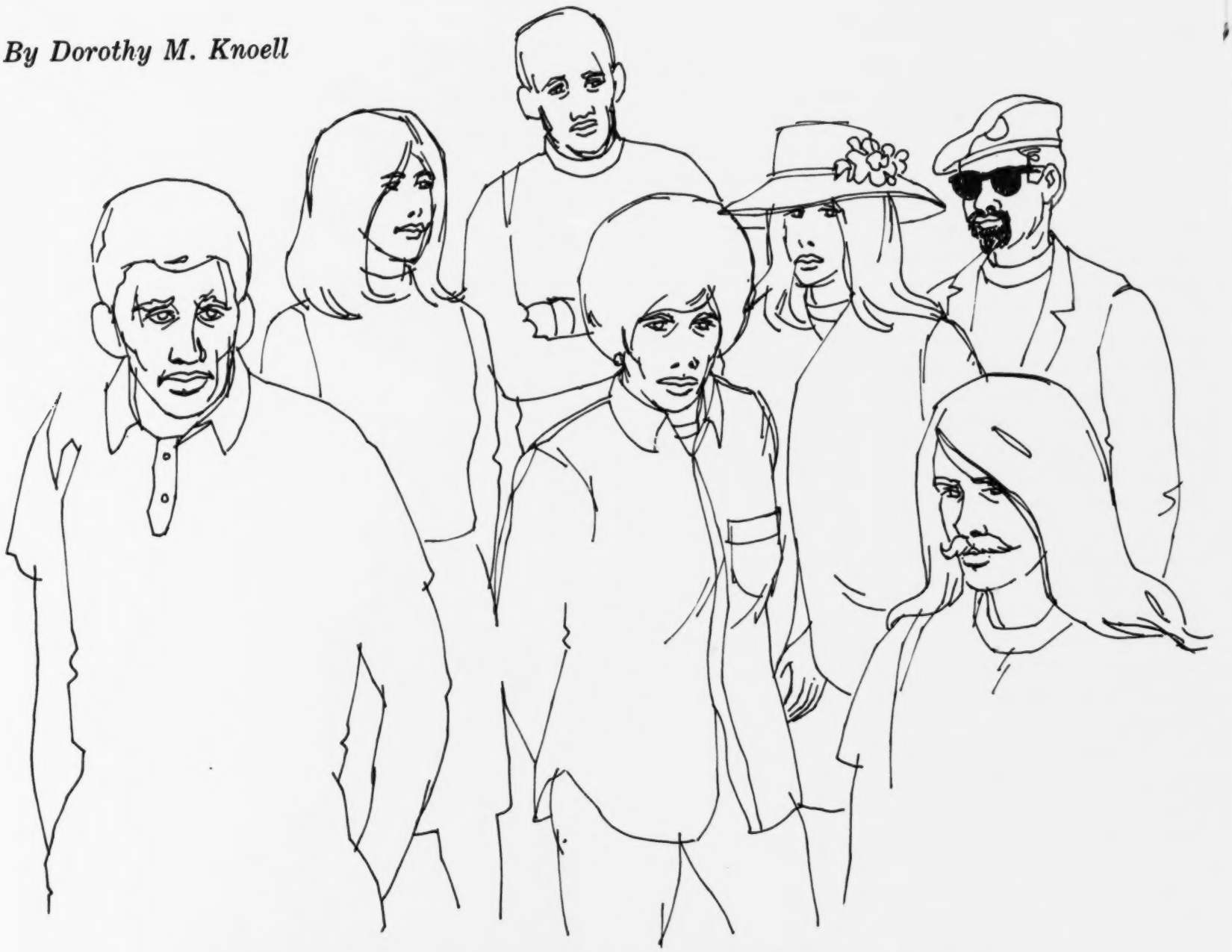
This institute can serve as a model, a unique prototype for departments of education wishing to train teachers for America's inner-city junior colleges. Such a model can become the symbol of the needed spirit in the community colleges. Its cornerstone is faith in slum youth and all ghetto people—the poor, brown, yellow, black, and white. This community college has no colonial attitude; it sees itself as an agency whereby the disadvantaged themselves—through their own efforts—create a favorable environment for human growth. It will not consider itself the repository of all teaching talent or as the only educational agency in the community. But it will mobilize all slum people for education, and mobilizing this society for education will mean building a worthwhile community because it is the community as a whole which educates.

Perhaps an unsolicited letter from one of the more negative participants received three months after the end of the institute best sums up its impact:

> In seven years of collegiate training, this was the first time I ever had any instructors lay it on the line. I learned to deal more fully with the problems of the urban community, its racial background, its poverty, its causes and cultural impacts. I was one of those brittle, middle class-oriented, unable-to-really-understand teachers. It's a paradox that I should be the open door to opportunity, and yet I often delivered the final blow to someone's self-image, in essence, his last hope. I suppose I really believed all along that ghetto youth have no place in our affluent society.

Left: Junior college teachers mingle with youngsters in the Fillmore District of San Francisco. Above from left: Don Peterson, Derrick Hill, and Ray Towbis discuss further strategy after one of the daily sessions with the teachers. Photos by Michelle Vignes.

By Dorothy M. Knoell



WHO GOES TO COLLEGE IN THE CITIES?

Multitudes of Latent College-Goers Await Assurance from the Community College

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following represents a partial report of a study of college-going behavior in selected urban areas. A complete report of the study, funded by the Ford Foundation, will be available from AAJC this fall.

* * *

The urban community colleges are attracting their fair share of black students, often without any special recruitment efforts or financial aid inducements. They have of necessity been color-blind in attempting to reach young people in their service areas, at least until recently when federally funded programs and compliance reports have focused attention on minority-group enrollments. Still, there must be a substantial increase in nonwhite enrollments if parity is to be achieved with white, middle-class enrollments in college.

For a number of reasons, the community colleges should have a major role to play in bringing about this increase in enrollment. First, the heaviest concentrations of nonwhite youth are in the big cities, many of which have multicampus community colleges. A very compelling reason for community college participation in increasing college attendance among minority youth is found in the comprehensive nature of these institutions, in terms of both function and program. In addition, a case can be made for the economic feasibility of increasing minority-group enrollments by means of the community colleges on the grounds that they are readily accessible

to the inner-city resident and that costs to the student are low. The cost of providing educational opportunity in the community college also tends to be low in comparison with programs in four-year colleges and universities which are predominently white. Assuming these several economic and educational factors to be true, the conclusion is clear that the community colleges can and must play an even greater role in attracting minority-group students to higher education if parity in both numbers and educational opportunity is to be achieved.

As a first step in assisting the community colleges to increase their black enrollments, the Ford Foundation made a grant to AAJC in spring of 1968 to conduct a demographic study of high school graduates in four metropolitan areas. The major objectives of the study were to compare the college-going behavior of black and white high school graduates in order to identify concentrations of black students who might be recruited to higher education; to interview black noncollege-goers to find out what alternative plans they have made and what it might take to attract them to college; and to experiment with a new battery of placement tests in assessing the nonverbal abilities, interests, and values of the disadvantaged. The goals are a contribution to basic research on college-age youth and an increase in the capability of community colleges to attract and develop programs for minority-group students.

Four metropolitan areas were selected for the study, with the concurrence of the foundation; the community colleges in each were asked to assist AAJC with the extensive field work which was needed. The cities and colleges which participated in the study are the Dallas and Tarrant County Junior College Districts in the Dallas-Fort Worth area, the Community College of Philadelphia, the Forest Park campus of the Junior College District in St. Louis, and the City College of San Francisco.*

The subjects in the study, for the most part, were spring 1968 graduates from samples of high schools which were selected on the basis of their degree of integration and comprehensiveness of program. Large samples of black and white graduates were selected for the comparative study of college-going behavior for whom information was obtained concerning their socioeconomic status, academic ability, and intent to go to college (which was later verified). Black graduates with no apparent intent to attend college were interviewed by community college students and staff in each city, most of whom were also black. More than one thousand interviews were thus obtained, and the experimental battery of tests was administered to about 40 per cent of the subjects who were interviewed.

*The following college staff members served ably as local study coordinators: Vernon Hendrix in Dallas, Galen McBride in Ft. Worth, Leonard Glick in Philadelphia, Betty Pollard in St. Louis, and Joseph Jacobsen in San Francisco.

Selected Findings

College attendance matrices were constructed for samples of male and female high school graduates in each city, by race, academic ability, and socioeconomic status. High school grades, rank in class, and achievement and intelligence test scores were used—in whatever combination was available from the high school record—to classify the graduates into four categories of academic ability. The average family income data for the census tract in which the graduates resided was used to categorize them with respect to socioeconomic status, with verification from data for individual families where possible. College-going rates were computed for the samples from each high school, and types of college or other postsecondary school attended were analyzed for each subgroup.

The data show that, regardless of race, the high school attended, performance in school and on tests, and the neighborhood in which the family resides are very important determinants of whether a high school graduate attends college.

Race is of course a critical factor in housing, employment, and school attendance in the cities studied. Still, when ability level and/or socioeconomic status are controlled for black and white high school graduates, college attendance rates are very similar. Sex is very important as a factor in college attendance, but it appears to operate in a somewhat different fashion for the two races. White males appear to have a considerably higher probability of attending college than do white females and black males in the several cities. However, black female and male graduates continued their education after high school at about the same rate and compared favorably with white females in terms of college attendance.

Black and white graduates in the upper two categories of ability in three of the cities studied have a better than 3 to 1 probability of going on with their education. In the other two cities, the probability decreases considerably for the second ability group. Racial differences in probability are small, but there are far fewer black graduates than white in the upper categories of ability and socioeconomic status. Black graduates tend to be concentrated in the bottom categories where their probability of attending college is no better than 1 to 3 and near zero in one of the cities. The probability seems to

be even lower for white graduates, but they are far fewer than blacks at the lower end of the scales used. Performance in high school appears to be a more critical factor than socioeconomic status in influencing college attendance at the lower end of the scales, particularly for the black graduates.

Vast differences among the high schools in college-going rates should be of some concern to the community college. College attendance rates for particular high schools ranged from 8 to 77 per cent for white graduates, and from 18 to 44 per cent for black graduates in one city. In several of the schools, rates for black and white graduates were quite similar. In others with extremely high rates for whites, the rates for blacks were very much lower. The samples of high schools included some predominantly white, and others integrated to some significant extent. Differences were found within each type of school as well as between types in rates of college attendance.

In each city, there appear to be both black and white high school graduates with good high school records who now are not going to college. The interviews were conducted only with black graduates, many of whom lacked the financial resources to attend college. Black males in particular appear to be poorly represented in the college-going groups in the several cities studied. In fact, some graduates with what might be regarded as "college potential" appear to prefer employment right after high school while seeing college as a possibility sometime in the future.

Test Results

A series of paper-and-pencil tests was administered to volunteers among the black youth who were interviewed. The tests were selected from a battery developed by the Educational Testing Service for the College Entrance Examination Board for use in its Comparative Guidance and Placement Program. Approximately a half-day of testing was scheduled for each subject, with the tests administered individually or in small groups to opidimize conditions. The number of verbal tests used was kept to a minimum, and they were interspersed with what might be called "fun and games" tests of various abilities. The verbal tests administered to each subject were either the Comparative Interest Index or Student Values and General Information. Nonverbal tests included Find the Rule, Mosaic Comparisons, Pattern Recognition, Mechanical Principles and Movements, Figure Matrix, Locating Information, and Path Tracing.

As might be expected, some of the subjects tested showed little ability with respect to any of the several measures obtained. Lack of motivation and prior, poor test results may account for a considerable portion of the poor performance since there was little reward for making good scores. Still, subjects with generally poor scores exhibited profiles of interest scores which were neither flat nor low. The rather more surprising finding is the large percentage of subjects with performance test scores at least as high as those of the junior college student sample used in the test development program. The largest percentage of consistently high scorers was found for the sample of Philadelphia subjects, particularly on the verbal, information-type tests as more than half the subjects scored at or above the national average. The score profiles of many of these black noncollege-goers resemble rather closely that of the "typical" community college freshman. At least one-third of the subjects in St. Louis also earned scores which were at least as high as the average score earned by the national junior college sample. The lowest scores, generally, were earned by the subjects in San Francisco where the number of black high school graduates now not going to college is comparatively small. The ability test data tend to reflect the extent to which opportunity to attend college is taken advantage of by the black high school graduates. Opportunity in Philadelphia —and in the East, generally—is least abundant at the present time for many reasons. Open-door colleges charging little or no tuition are everywhere in California, and the test data for San Francisco show little untapped talent.

Profiles of mean scores on the Comparative Interest Index show some similarities, and also some surprising differences, as compared to the profiles for a national sample of more than 20,000 students in comprehensive community colleges. The male subjects earned high mean scores in the areas of engineering technology, business, and the physical sciences. Unlike the national group, they also earned high interest scores in the area of foreign languages. The social science area ranked relatively low among the interest scores for samples of the study group. The four interest areas which the samples of female subjects ranked highest are home economics, secretarial, business, and foreign languages. Compared with the national norm group, the women in the study groups tended to give higher ratings to business and lower ratings to fine arts. The expressed interest of both sexes in foreign language activities may reflect an interest in black studies programs in which Swahili and related languages are taught. Similarly, their shared preference for business activities may reflect their growing interest in black capitalism. Their relatively low-expressed interest

in the areas of fine arts and music may well be a rejection of the types of activities in the index rather than a low degree of liking for these areas. Mean interest scores which fell in the middle range for the study samples are biology, English, mathematics, and social sciences—the more traditional academic subjects in which the disadvantaged tend to do poor work.

Student Values scores were obtained on eight scales—Reputation, Service, Creativity, Leadership, Theoretical, Conformity, Materialistic, and Social. Normative data were not available for a national, two-year college group. Still, the patterns of mean scores earned by the subjects in the study group are of some interest. The highest mean scores were earned on the Service and Social scales, the lowest on the Materialistic and Reputation scales. The profiles were quite similar for the men and women, although the women tended to earn more extreme scores than the men. The profile probably reflects quite accurately the feelings of these samples of black youth who are not going to college. Items on the Service scale have a certain amount of face validity, in terms of helping other people in a variety of ways. The Social scale tends to focus on groups rather than on individual activities. Low scores on the Reputation and Materialistic scales may well reflect a tendency to reject the middle class values which some of the items imply.

The test battery thus appears to be useful in assessing some of the abilities, interests, and values of lower-class youth with poor high school records and long histories of low test scores. Not all of the subjects were reached by the testing, in terms of performing at a level which produced meaningful profiles of scores. Still, a significant number were found to have abilities quite similar to those of students now in community colleges and expressed interests which would be helpful in counseling and placement.

Information from Interviews

Black urban youth with no special skills and no training beyond high school are generally believed to have few or no prospects for employment. The future which is predicted for them is grim unless they undertake job training or college work. The point of departure in constructing the interview schedule was therefore an extended inquiry into the plans for immediate and future employment of the samples of black noncollege-goers, including their expectations of need for training related to employment, now and in the future. Questions were structured so as to avoid responses which state highly unrealistic aspirations for work in the professions. Instead, the subjects were queried about the characteristics of jobs and employment situations which they deemed important. A second major line of questioning was concerned with their decision-making about college attendance, both actual and speculative. Information, attitudes, and interests were sought in an attempt to find out how the community college can be made more attractive and more accessible to the urban disadvantaged. None of the interview subjects had made plans to attend college at the time they were interviewed, although some in fact did go to college as a kind of by-product of the interview.

Approximately equal numbers of subjects said they wanted to get a specific job and go to college —or get more education—in response to a question about what they really wanted to do at that moment if they had unlimited choice. However, half of the group gave some other type of response which ranged from "travel, have fun" to "help society." Fewer than 10 per cent said they had never thought about going to college, and almost the entire group acknowledged a need for more training or education sometime in the future. Two-thirds of the subjects thought they would need further education right away, usually in some kind of school or college rather than in the military. They also tended to be optimistic about getting training on the job, usually in addition to what they would need to obtain in school or college. About half of the subjects did not abandon the idea of going to college entirely until their senior year or after graduation from high school. Some still were hoping to go at the time of the interview, although a major basis for selecting the interview subjects was their lack of any plans to go to college. Three-fourths of the subjects said they thought it would be a good thing for them to go to college at that time and they would be happy if someone were to offer them the opportunity. Ninety per cent felt their families would favor their attending college, and they could live at home while doing so.

Financial problems were cited by half of the interview subjects as the most important reason for their nonattendance. Only 10 per cent had no desire to attend. Academic problems (grades, preparation) were cited by only 12 per cent as the single most important barrier to college attendance. Given a choice of alternatives involving college and employment, two-thirds of the subjects expressed a preference for attending college for one or two years over immediate employment at the minimum wage (with a chance for an early increase) and job-training for six months with guaranteed employment. Nearly 90 per cent of the subjects thought college students should be expected to work part time in order to earn a portion of their expenses. In spite of their

interest in college and their financial need, only 57 per cent reported that someone had talked with them about attending the local community college. Friends, parents, and relatives were named as often as teachers and counselors as a source of information about the college. The subjects were quite well informed about the occupational programs offered by the local college and were realistic about the cost of attending. Most thought that the cost was fair—in terms of the expected return—but reiterated the financial barrier to their attending.

A list of eleven fields of employment were read to the interview subjects, who were then asked to react to each in terms of their expected liking for work in each field—*like it very much, probably like it, probably dislike it,* and *don't know or don't care.* Differences between the sexes and among the cities were found in both the ordering of preferences and the intensity of feeling. However, certain generalizations can be made from the grouped data for males and females, all of them black noncollege-goers. Both groups ranked government work—federal, state, or local—highest among their preferences and education or social work second highest. The males ranked the field of banking, insurance, and real estate third highest; the women ranked health third highest and banking fourth. Business—described as *some type of selling, merchandising, distributing, etc.*—was ranked low but positive by both men and women. A weighting of the ratings produced negative preferences for public service (police, firemen) and the hotel-restaurant business on the part of both men and women. The women gave certain other negative ratings which are sex-related. The preferences of the women were generally stronger than those of the men, although the occupational interests of both groups are quite clear. The men also gave reasonably high ratings to manufacturing, repair or servicing, and the health field and lower ratings to the construction or building industry and the transportation field (trucking, airlines).

Analysis of the free responses of the subjects to the question concerning the five things most important to them in their first job after high school showed that *money or other benefits* was ranked first and was mentioned as one of the five factors by three-fourths of the subjects. *Interest in the job* was ranked last among the five factors suggested by the subjects, with only slightly more than one-fourth mentioning job interest at all. The other three factors which were mentioned, in descending order of frequency, are *working conditions* (hours, location, cleanliness), *personal qualities* associated with a particular job, and the *people* with which the respondent would work. The responses by the men and women were very similar except for a somewhat smaller percentage of the women giving a high rank to *money or other benefits.*

More than half the respondents expected to stay in the line of work they planned to enter after high school while advancing to a higher job level. One-third were quite certain that they eventually would enter an entirely different field when they felt they were "ready for something big." In still another question, in which they were asked to select the kind of working situation which would have the most appeal among a suggested four, *helping other people* was chosen most often over *doing something with machines rather than talking or writing, being your own boss,* and *working in an office in a white-collar job.* There are important implications in these job responses for the program planners in the community college which are attempting to recruit black youth. Their preferences and problems are both clear. The challenge is to develop programs in which they can succeed—academically and economically. The New Careers type of program in the human services offers promise in this respect.

Conclusions

Studies by community colleges of high school graduates in their service areas who now are not going on to college are useful in planning programs to recruit minority-group and other disadvantaged students, and to provide the kind of educational experiences they both need and want. Differences among high schools in college-going rates need to be explored in terms of such variables as accessibility of the community college, availability of information about the college in the high schools, attitudes of high school counselors toward the colleges, and prior success of students from particular schools.

Community college students and staff with little research training can be utilized effectively in conducting such studies, particularly in interviewing black noncollege-goers who resent being studied further by what they regard as the Establishment. The college must be prepared to accept and work with graduates who change their mind about college after being interviewed, including the provision of financial aid to the needy.

Paper-and-pencil tests can elicit good performance on the part of the disadvantaged if they are administered in such a way that the test "task" is fully understood and time pressures are reduced. The information thus obtained is useful in both counseling and placement in college.

There are still multitudes of young people in the big cities who are what might be called "latent college-goers," awaiting assurance from the community college that the opportunity is open and that college is economically feasible.

ARE OUR COLLEGES REALLY ACCESSIBLE TO THE POOR?

Deadlines, Fees, Forms, Lack of Information May Close the "Open Door" For Disadvantaged Students

By Dorothy M. Knoell

In principle, community junior colleges are accessible to all, without respect to race, color, social class, degree of affluence, parentage, or prior educational experience. Community colleges are by nature open-door institutions—free to those who cannot afford the low tuition and fees, comprehensive in curricular offerings, located close to population centers, and responsive to local needs for education beyond high school. Yet, in the name of administrative expediency, procedural barriers are often erected—subtly discriminatory barriers which may have the effect of rendering the colleges inaccessible to the poor, the educationally handicapped, and others lacking the necessary "savvy" to cope with a bureaucratic system.

Some of the same barriers which transfer students face in moving from two- to four-year colleges now tend to discourage the disadvantaged from seeking opportunity after high school in the two-year college.[1] The problem is often less one of qualifications and costs than of conformity and adherence to certain behavior patterns which middle class youth and their parents find more facile than does the lower class. The problem is less one of achieving certain test scores than of arranging to take a test on a particular date (and to pay a fee to do so); less a matter of achieving a certain record in high school than of persisting to graduation and submitting a transcript to prove it; less a problem of health than of getting to a physician for an examination on a certain day.

Some evidence exists that the community college becomes inaccessible to poor youth as early as junior high school, unalterably so in many cases and until they reach their majority in others. Some are "tracked" into dull, dead-end vocational curriculums in high school from which they emerge uninspired, unprepared, and unsuited for college in the eyes of most. Others are labeled "not college potential" for all time, a prophecy they take little joy in fulfilling as they ponder the reasons for working for grades if college is not to be in their future.[2] Probably a majority of the two-year colleges overlooks the nature and quality of the high school record when deciding whom to admit to the institution, while reserving the right to counsel and place the student, once admitted. Still, the colleges find it difficult to reach out to the reluctant scholar who is expected to get information about college from the very high school counselor who told him earlier that he lacked "college potential." College catalogs usually come in two styles—"out of print" and "still in press"—particularly during the critical late spring months of decision making. The hopeless disadvantaged youngster with no brothers or sisters in college, no parent who made it through high school, no friend in college to give counsel and information, may have nowhere to go to but to the high school staff, which has failed him, to find out how to qualify for another chance for an education.

The barriers which the colleges erect are as a rule designed to ease the flow of the masses of students into college, to get full information about new students in time to counsel them, and to keep enrollments within the limits of existing resources and facilities. The "open-door" college may be so only to the first thousand applicants for admission in a given year, all of whom were ready to apply for admission by a midspring cutoff date. Some colleges publish such dates in their catalogs ("Let the applicant beware!"), while others have a deadline which moves back in time in relation to current demand for admission and the capacity of the institution. A survey of a sample of catalogs for urban community colleges revealed some deadlines for fall admission which occur as early as December or January of the applicant's senior year in high school. The more common practice is, of course, to accept applications until mid or late August, if admission and preregistration procedures are complex, or until the date of final registration, if the college practices an open-door philosophy in the extreme. Still, with mounting pressure for admission, delays in the construction of new facilities, and tight instructional budgets, the temptation is great to establish early deadlines for admission as a means of controlling enrollments. Such a move may well discriminate against disadvantaged youth just as surely as would a selective admissions policy based on the high school performance record.

Colleges with a clear conscience with respect to deadlines for admission may still have procedures for obtaining financial aid which are in effect discriminatory. Both deadlines and application forms may constitute significant barriers for the disadvantaged. It is entirely understandable that applications for financial aid should have an earlier due-date than applications for admission, because of the work required to determine need and allocate the often scarce scholarship funds. Yet the unwary and uncertain disadvantaged senior who delays action until he completes his last, often best term in high school may find that he is admissible but ineligible to apply for financial aid. Examples of March and April deadlines for applications for financial aid were found for some colleges which had much later cutoff dates for admission (or no deadlines at all). Admission and financial aid are often inseparable for the disadvantaged applicant, but there is reason to believe that a considerable portion of the aid goes to students who have already decided to enroll, whether or not aid is forthcoming. Applicants who are judged to be "good risks" by virtue of their steady performance in high school, compliance with deadlines and instructions on application blanks, family background, and appearance are more apt to be first in line to seek and obtain financial aid than the "high risk" late applicant who submits a messy application lacking proper signatures. The latter candidate is more likely than not to come from a poor, nonwhite family with no prior experience with college procedures and a fairly strong feeling of suspicion about the whole educational establishment.

Hurdles to Surmount

Applications for financial aid tend to resemble in their complexity the federal income tax form which must be filled out by taxpayers in high income brackets, not the "short form" required of low wage earners. The assumptions about income and assets which seem to underlie the application forms for financial aid required by some colleges are totally irrelevant to the lives of the very poor. The very terminology may be unfamiliar to the semiliterate parent: assets and liabilities, endowments and trust funds, annuities and investments. The parent may also be quite unwilling to cooperate in any way to make it possible for the disadvantaged young man or woman to attend college, especially if a job is in prospect. Interviews with poor young people have shown that they have scant concrete knowledge of their family financial balance sheet which they might use in lieu of a parental financial statement such as the one used by the College Scholarship Service. The picture is not unlike that conjured up by the adult who is forced by circumstances to apply for public welfare for his children in time of need, and the comparison is scarcely conducive to his seeking college financial aid for his teenager. Long, unhappy experience with welfare workers, money lenders, merchants, and the education profession itself has made the poor skeptical, even distrustful of college loan programs and of the counselors who offer their help in negotiating such aid.

The disadvantaged are less likely to be barred from the community college because of their test scores than because of the hurdles they must surmount in order to produce a set of test scores for the college. Consider, as an example, the disadvantaged high school senior who finds out about his local community college in late March and thinks he might want to enroll. He learns from a friend two weeks later that he must take a test in connection with submitting an application for admission. He learns still later that the test he must take is the Scholastic Aptitude Test, or perhaps the American College Testing Program battery. (One or the other is required by an increasingly large number of two-year colleges.) He must obtain a form in order to register to take the test and send it in about a month before the test is to be given (or somewhat

later, with the payment of a late registration fee). The fee itself may be a deterrent to the poor, inexperienced senior who may not know how to cope with the instruction that he is not to send cash. The exams are administered on Saturday, at what are regarded as conveniently located test centers. The working senior must thus pay a fee for taking the test, miss a day of work, and get himself to what may be for him a strange testing center on time, or be denied access. Having done poorly on exams during most of his life, he may find any one of the several steps in the examination procedure to be sufficiently threatening that he drops the idea of attending college right there. Deadlines, fees, forms to fill out, transportation to the test center, starting time—all these may discourage the disadvantaged youngster who has not yet learned to comply, or even just to be on time.

Communications Gap

Finally, the disadvantaged tend to find the community college inaccessible because of a serious communications gap. College catalogs are probably the least effective medium for communication with nonstudents, at least as they are presently written. Enrolled students have long been the best communicators about the college, as purveyors of factual information, orientation, and a certain amount of guidance. The disadvantaged who are in Upward Bound programs or who are served by a Talent Search program are more fortunate. Most, however, are in effect denied access to the kind of assistance which students can give in recruitment and enrollment, because such help is not yet institutionalized. Student-to-student help is extended to brothers and sisters and cousins, to neighbors and fellow worshippers, and to friends. The poor, nonwhite, low achieving high school student lacks such help, when his family includes school dropouts and his friends are disinterested in further education as an instrument of mobility. Students can be organized to perform the communicating function for the college. But at present the open-door philosophy tends to mediate against planned communication and active recruitment of the disadvantaged to the community college.

Nothing has been said about admissions standards and requirements as they may serve to screen out the disadvantaged. Nor has attention been given to the so-called nominal tuition and fees charged by colleges. These are important deterrents to the enrollment of the disadvantaged, particularly the poor. However, they are inconsequential so long as procedural details make the college inaccessible. No college discriminates or excludes the disadvantaged willfully, nor are many conscious of their acts which become barriers to admission. Pressures are increasing to "tighten" procedures, while avoiding selective admissions and increased tuition and fees. As tightening occurs, accessibility dwindles for the disadvantaged for the very reasons which make them high risks—postponement of decision making, failure to meet deadlines and keep appointments, uncertain motivation, and a certain resentment toward the establishment which keeps them in a state of disadvantage.

Questions to Ask

At the start of each new year, each college might well examine its catalog and its conscience in testing its accessibility in the eyes of the poor, the undereducated, and the simply confused potential student. Each college might ask itself the following questions, and then, if the answers are damning, change or relax it procedures:

1. Do admissions procedures make it easy to admit, and then to assist with financial aid, the disadvantaged applicant who "discovers" the college after the formal deadline for admission?
2. Does the college have unconventional antennae out in the community to find, inform, and then assist the disadvantaged who are passed by under normal operating procedures?
3. Are there funds easily available to pay fees for testing, physical exams, evaluation of financial need, transportation, and, finally, the formal application for admission?
4. Is some financial aid—educational opportunity grants, work-study jobs—given to high risk students who are very poor, or is such aid given to the "safe" students of proven academic ability?
5. At what reading level have the financial aid and admission forms been set? Has an attempt been made to simplify them?
6. Can financial aid be awarded to late-late applicants for admission who are exceedingly needy?
7. Are students used as an arm of the admissions or counseling office to recruit and then to assist the traditional noncollege-goers?
8. Have special recruitment materials and techniques been devised for reaching the disadvantaged in high school and in the community?

These eight questions may serve to stimulate local faculties, admissions officers, and student personnel workers in general to examine the practices they follow as open-door colleges.

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[1] Knoell, Dorothy M., and Medsker, Leland L. *From Junior to Senior College: A National Study of the Transfer Student.* Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1965.

[2] Knoell, Dorothy M. *Toward Educational Opportunity for All.* Albany: State University of New York, 1966.